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THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET;

CONTAINING

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CRUEL CIVIL WARS BETWEEN THE HOUSES OF

ORLEANS AND BURGUNDY;

OF THE POSSESSION OF

PARIS AND NORMANDY BY THE ENGLISH;

THEIR EXPULSION THENCE;

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AND OF OTHER

MEMORABLE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED IN THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE,

AS WELL AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES.

A HISTORY OF FAIR EXAMPLE, AND OF GREAT PROFIT TO THE

FRENCH,

Beginning at the Year MCCCC. *where that of Sir JOHN FROISSART finishes, and ends at the Year* MCCCCLXVII. *and continued by others to the Year* MDXVI.

TRANSLATED

BY THOMAS JOHNES, ESQ.

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES.....VOL. VIII.

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HERE BEGINNETH

THE EIGHTH VOLUME

OF THE

CHRONICLES

OF

ENGUERRAND DE MONSTRELET.

CHAP. I.

JAMES I. KING OF SCOTLAND IS MURDERED IN HIS BED-CHAMBER DURING THE NIGHT BY HIS UNCLE THE EARL OF ATHOL. —OTHER MATTERS.

ABOUT this time, a very cruel and surprising event took place in Scotland, while the king resided at Perth in the middle of his realm, and held his court at an abbey of Jacobins, situated on the river Tay, a conspiracy was formed against his life by some who hated him. The

leader was his own uncle the earl of Athol*.

The earl came to Perth the second Wednesday in Lent, which was one of the ember weeks, accompanied by about thirty men, and, an hour after midnight made for the king's bed-chamber, who was unsuspicious of what was intended. They instantly broke open the door, and having gained an entrance, most barbarously assassinated him with upward of thirty wounds, some of which went through his heart. During this transaction, his queen, sister to the earl of Somerset, endeavoured to save him, but was villainously wounded in two places by some of the murderers. When the deed was

* 'Walter earl of Athol had innumerable favours and honours conferred upon him by the king and royal family, yet he was the chief actor in that horrid murder of his nephew king James I. for which he was most justly condemned and executed, and all his estates and honours were forfeited to the crown. The title of Athol was suspended till king James II. bestowed it upon his uterine brother, sir John Stewart of Balveny,' &c.——*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.*

done, they hurried away, to save themselves by flight.

The cries of the queen, and of her attendants, soon made the matter publicly known throughout the palace and town, when crowds hastened to the king's bedchamber, where they found him mangled and dead, and the queen wounded. Great sorrow and lamentations were shown on the occasion,—and on the morrow the king was interred at the Carthusians.

Shortly after, the nobles and great lords of Scotland were summoned, and agreed with the queen, that the murderers should be immediately pursued, which was instantly executed,—and the assassins were arrested, and put to death in various ways, and with divers torments.

The earl of Athol, as principal, although uncle to the king, had his belly cut open, his bowels taken out and burnt before his face: his body was then quartered, and the four parts sent to four of the greatest towns of the realm. Sir Robert Stuart, having been very active in the business, was hung on a gibbet

and then quartered. Sir Robert Graham was put into a cart, having a gallows erected within it, to which was fastened one of his hands, namely, that with which he had assassinated the king, and thus led through the streets. He was surrounded by three executioners, who kept pinching his thighs, and other parts of his body, with red hot pincers, and was afterwards quartered. All the rest were horribly tormented before they were executed; and this act of justice was done within forty days of the king's murder.

The reason of the earl of Athol's committing this atrocious deed was, that on the king's return from his imprisonment in England, where he had been for a long time detained, as mentioned in my first book of this history, he had put to death many great lords, (as well those related to him by blood as others) who had been members of the regency during his absence, for not having exerted themselves more expeditiously for his ransom. In this number were some very near relatives to the earl of Athol,

who, though before this act he kept up the appearance of loyalty, had for a considerable time been plotting this assassination, which he put in practice as you have seen.

King James left a son about twelve years old, who was crowned king of Scotland, with the unanimous assent and approbation of the three estates of the realm. He was placed under the governance of a knight of great renown, called sir William Crichton*, who had been his tutor during the life of the king his father. This young monarch had a vermilion mark down one cheek, and a white one down the other.

Within a short time, the queen carried away suddenly, from the knight above named, the king her son, out of the castle of Edinburgh, and put him under other governors, namely, the great lords of the country. This regency put to death the earl of Douglas† and his brother, call-

* Lord chancellor of Scotland.

† 'William VI. earl of Douglas, third duke of Touraine, &c. a youth of a fine genius and noble

led David de Combrebant*, for having as they said, formed a conspiracy against the young king, to depose him from his throne. King James had six sisters, the eldest of whom was married to the dauphin of France, son to king Charles; the duke of Brittany had another; the third married the duke of Savoy's son;

spirit, and of great expectation. Soon after his father's death, he came to a meeting of the parliament at Edinburgh with a splendid and numerous retinue, and behaved with all due obedience and submission. He was in great favour with the young king, and gave all the marks of a sincere, generous and loyal disposition. However, it seems his grandeur made him be looked upon with a jealous eye by the faction at the time, though he was then only about sixteen years of age. He and his young brother were invited to an entertainment in the castle of Edinburgh by chancellor Crichton. They went without the least suspicion or distrust, and were both barbarously assassinated, with their trusty friend sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, in the king's presence, who had the tragical event in the utmost abhorrence, and wept bitterly, but had not the power to prevent it. This happened on the 24th November 1440.'——*Douglas's Peerage of Scotland.*

* Combrebant. This must be meant for sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld.

the fourth married the lord de Vere in in Holland. The queen also married a young scots knight called sir James Stuart and had by him several children*.

It has happened, that since I had written the foregoing account, I have received more authentic information respecting the execution of the earl of Athol. It was as follows. He was stript quite naked, all but his drawers in the streets of Edinburgh, and hoisted several times up and down a high gibbet by means of a pully, and then let fall to within two feet of the ground. He was then placed on a pillar and crowned with a coronet of hot iron to signify that he was king of the traitors. On the morrow, he was seated on a hurdle, naked as before, and dragged through the streets; after which, he was put on a

* Mr Pinkerton says, that Margaret was married to the dauphin;—Isabel to Francis duke of Brittany,—Eleanor to Sigismund archduke of Austria, Mary to the count de Boucquan, son to the lord of Campvere,—Jean to the earl of Angus, and afterwards to the earl of Morton.

See note p. 142. Hist. of Scotland.

table, his belly cut open, and his entrails drawn out, and thrown into a fire before his face and while he was alive. His heart was then cast into the fire, his body quartered, and the quarters sent to the four principal towns in the kingdom as has been mentioned before. The rest of his accomplices were grievously tortured prior to their execution,—and several of their near relations and intimates, though perfectly innocent, were executed with them; and such severe punishments were not remembered to have been ever before inflicted in a Christian country.

The duke of Burgundy, at this time held many councils with the three estates of his dominions, to consider on the best means of opposing the English, whom he expected daily to invade them. It was determined to garrison every town as well those inland as on the sea-shores; and all the nobles, and others who had been accustomed to bear arms, were ordered to hold themselses in readiness to march with their captains in defence of their country, under the orders of John of Burgundy, count d'Estampes commander in chief.

Many of the inhabitants of the city of Lyons now rebelled against the officers of the king of France, because they were overloaded with taxes and gabelles; but several of them suffered death for it, and others were imprisoned by the royal officers.

The Parisians were also accused of intending to betray that city to the English, when master James Joussel and master Mille des Faulx advocates in the parliament together with a pursuivant, were beheaded, and their effects confiscated to the king,

In this year also the ghent men rose in arms in considerable numbers and slew one Gilbert Pactetent, head decon of the trades, for having, as they said, prevented Calais from being stormed; and they moreover accused him of treason, because their cannon and other engines had fired but little during that siege.

They also insisted, among other extravagant demands, that an order should be proclaimed, forbidding any beer to be brewed within three leagues of Ghent;

but as the sheriffs and other municipal officers had intermixed among them, with the banner of France displayed, in the Friday market-place, and had addressed them in moderate and good-humoured terms, telling them, that they would consider on their demands, and provide for them in such wise that they should be contented, the mob dispersed quietly to their homes, and laid down their arms.

Many councils were held by the sheriffs and magistrates on these requisitions, which were declared useless, and impossible to be carried into effect. They likewise resolved to leave things in the state in which they had prospered so long, without making any unreasonable reformation.

CHAP. II.

LA HIRE, POTON, WITH MANY OTHER FRENCH CAPTAINS, ARE NEAR TAKING ROUEN. THEY ARE ATTACKED AND DEFEATED BY THE ENGLISH, WHO SURPRISE THEM IN THEIR QUARTERS.

In this year, several french commanders assembled a body of men on the frontiers of Normandy, to the amount of eight hundred or a thousand, namely, La Hire, Poton de Santrailles, the lord de Fontaines, Lavagan, Philip de la Tour, and others. They marched toward Rouen with the expectation of entering it by means of some of the inhabitants, who had promised them admittance,—but failed, from a considerable reinforcement of English having lately arrived in the town.

The french captains, finding their enterprise could not be accomplished although they were close to Rouen, retreated with their men to refresh and quarter themselves at a large village called Ris, only four leagues distant from it. While they were there, the

lord Scales, lord Talbot, sir Thomas Kiriel and other english captains, having had information where they were, collected about a thousand combatants and instantly pursued them,—and, before they were aware, attacked them on different sides, having surprised their quarters.

The French unable to collect together were very soon defeated. La Hire, however, having mounted a horse belonging to one of his men at arms, attempted to rally them, but in vain, and then fled. He was briskly pursued, and severely wounded in several places, but escaped by the aid of some of his men. The lord de Fontaines, Alain Geron, Louis de Basle, Alardin de Mousay, John de Lon, were made prisoners; and the other nobles, with the rest of the army, saved themselves chiefly in the woods, but they lost all their baggage and the greater part of their horses. With regard to the killed, they did not amount to more than eight or ten.

[A. D. 1437.]

CHAP. III.

THE TOWN OF BRUGES REBELS AGAINST ITS LORD AND HIS OFFICERS.—A GREAT CONFLICT AND SLAUGHTER IS THE CONSEQUENCE.

At the beginning of this year, the populace of Bruges revolted against the officers of their lord the duke of Burgundy, and suddenly put to death Maurice de Versenaire, and his brother, James de Versenaire, sheriffs and magistrates of the town, because they had gone to wait on the duke at Arras. They were sought for in the houses in which they had hidden themselves, on hearing that the mob intended to murder them; and this event greatly alarmed the principal inhabitants.

The duke of Burgundy was much vexed on hearing what had passed at Bruges, and held many councils to consider how he could most effectually punish this outrage against his authority. He was advised to send secretly some trusty persons to Bruges, to learn from

those supposed to be attached to his party how he could punish the offenders. Those of the highest rank wrote letters, in consequence to the duke, to excuse themselves from having been any way concerned in the late business, and to offer their services to assist him in punishing those who had done these murders.

The duke now made known his intention of going to Holland on his private affairs, and that he would pass through Bruges in his way, when he should see how he could best accomplish his object. He therefore assembled a large body of men at arms, with their captains, from Picardy, to the amount of fourteen hundred combatants, and, attended by many noble lords, departed from Lille, and lay at the town of Rousselaire. On the morrow, he sent his harbingers to Bruges to prepare his lodgings, escorted, as usual, by a detachment from the above-mentioned men at arms. They entered the town, and took up their quarters as they could. The duke immediately followed them with the main army, receiving hourly intelligence from his friends in the town. In truth, the principal inhabitants

would have been rejoiced to see those who had committed the before-mentioned atrocious acts properly punished,—for they were men of low degree, who wished to throw things into confusion that they might master the richer ranks.

The commonalty were alarmed when they heard of the duke's coming, being fearful that this armament was brought, as was the truth, against them. In consequence, they assembled by companies in divers parts of the town, and gave out that the duke and his Picards were only coming thither to plunder and destroy it. The chief inhabitants, hearing this, were more uneasy than before: the whole town was now in arms.

A large party of the commonalty collected under arms, in the market place, and sent off a detachment to the gate leading to Rousselaire, through which the duke was to enter. It was on Whitsun-Wednesday; and when the duke came to the gate, thinking to enter, he was surprised to find both that and the barriers closed, and the townsmen armed and accoutred for war. They re-

fused to admit the duke but with few attendants, which he would not agree to saying that he and his army would enter together. A long conference now took place between the two parties in the town.

The duke had with him sir Roland de Hautekirk and sir Colart de Comines, whom the men of Bruges disliked exceedingly, with many nobles of renown in war such as the count d'Estampes, the lord de l'Isle-Adam, the lord de Therouenne, the lord de Humieres, the lord de Haubourdin, the lord de Saveuses, the lord de Crevecœur, James Kiriel, the lord de Lenternelle, Pierre de Roubaix and others, who were astonished at the conduct of the bruges men toward their prince.

Some advised him to arrest those who had come through the barriers to the conference, and to behead all who had been concerned in these disturbances; but this was negatived, for fear those within the town would retaliate on the harbingers and their escort. However, after a space of two or three hours, it was concluded that the duke might en-

ter; but before he made his entrance, he posted at the gate Charles de Rochefort, sir John bastard of Dampierre, Melides Breton, with others of his gentlemen, and a party of archers.

The duke entered the town in handsome array, attended by many nobles and warriors; but when he was about to dismount at his hôtel, and when four or five hundred of his men at arms had passed the gate, the townsmen (who, as I have said, were there under arms, and in great numbers,) closed the barriers and gate, shutting out the remainder of the duke's army. The duke was very angry when he heard of this, and caused the magistrates to be informed, that since they would not permit his people to enter with him, he would return to them,—but the magistrates excused themselves as well as they were able.

In the mean time, the duke drew up those who had been allowed to follow him, in good array, in the old market-place, when a quarrel took place between them and the townsmen, and battles ensued in different parts of the town. The

duke was advised to retire with part of his men towards the gate by which he had entered, to attempt gaining it, in order that he might have the support of the rest of his army, or make his retreat should it be thought necessary.

This was done, and he detached a body to the ramparts, to attack those at the gate on the flank, while he marched in person down the great street. The enemy set up a grand shout, and made a desperate attack,—but suddenly they fled from the gate, were pursued, and many slain. The lord de l'Isle-Adam had dismounted, and was advanced beyond some of the archers, who did not behave to please him in pursuing the townsmen, concluding, at the same time that he should be followed by others, which was not the case, or at least by a very few,—so that, seeing him thus alone, a party of the townsmen surrounded him, and, before any succour could arrive, put him to death, and tore from him the order of the Golden Fleece which he had on.

The duke of Burgundy and in ge-

neral all who had accompanied him were much grieved at his death, but now there was no remedy for it. At this moment there was not one but was in danger of suffering the like,—for the commonalty were in multitudes under arms ready to surround them on all sides, who were but a handful of men in comparison to them.

The duke, nevertheless, was in good spirits, and only regretted that he had not the rest of his troops to give combat to these bruges men, now in absolute rebellion. Those with him were very uneasy, and those without much vexed at their situation: the last heard from some of their companions the disagreeable state their lord was in, and also saw eight or ten of their fellow-soldiers, pursued by the townsmen, leap from the ramparts to save themselves in the ditches wherein they were drowned.

This confusion and affray, in the town of Bruges, lasted a full hour and half when the duke was informed that the mob were preparing to fall on him in immense numbers, and with artillery, so

that resistance would be vain. He was advised to make a desperate attempt to gain possession of the gate, cost what it would, before this mob should arrive. He advanced, therefore, to the gate, with all the men he now had; and the enemy, as before, retreated from it. Large hammers were got from a smith's house hard by, with which the bolts and bars were broken,—and on opening the gate the army rushed out with a hearty good will; but the duke, mounted on a handsome courser, had remained steady in the midst of the tumult, though nearly approached by the enemy, and, like a good shepherd, saw all his men out of the gate before him, and then took the road to Rousselaire, whence he had marched that morning, much hurt that affairs had turned out so ill, and sincerely grieved at the loss of the lord de l'Isle-Adam and others of his people.

The greater part of the army were so panicstruck with what had happened that it was with difficulty they could be marched in any order. Neither sir Roland de Hautekirk nor sir Colart de Comines had entered the town with the duke, who

lost that day in killed upward of a hundred of his men. They were all interred together in a grave in the hospital church-yard, except the lord de l'Isle-Adam, who was buried apart,—and his body was afterward removed, with great solemnity, into the church of St Donât at Bruges.

Two hundred prisoners were made by the townsmen, and on the Friday following thirty two of them were beheaded; the rest had their lives saved by the intercessions of the churchmen and foreign merchants, who earnestly exerted themselves in the business. At the end of eight days, they set at liberty all the attendants of the duke, with their baggage; but they hung and quartered the blacksmith, for having given hammers to break down the gates: his name was Jacob van Ardoyen.

On the side of the townsmen, there were not more than twelve killed; and among the Picards, none of name but the lord de l'Isle Adam and an usher of the apartments to the duke, named Herman. The bruges men remained night and day under arms.

and in very great bodies, not only within the town but through all parts of their jurisdiction. They shortly after pulled down the house of a citizen called Gerard Reubs.

With regard to the duke of Burgundy, he went to Rousselaire, and thence to Lille, where many councils were held to consider how he could reduce the town of Bruges to his obedience. It was proposed, in order to accomplish this the sooner, to have it proclaimed through all the adjoining towns and villages, that no persons should carry any provisions to Bruges under pain of being reputed an enemy to the prince. This was done; and the men of Bruges, though surprised and fearful of the consequences, did not relax in continuing the business they had begun.

CHAP. IV.

THE BASTARD DE LA HIRE MAKES AN EXCURSION THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF PERONNE, ROYE, AND MONDIDIER, WHERE HE COMMITS GREAT WASTE.

At this season, the bastard de la Hire was posted in the castle of Clermont in the Beauvoisis, with about sixty or four score combatants, with whom he sorely harrassed the adjoining countries, more particularly the castlewicks of Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier, belonging to the duke of Burgundy. Thither they made frequent excursions, carrying away each time to their garrison great plunder in cattle and other effects, notwithstanding the peace concluded at Arras between the king of France and the duke.

One day, they came before the town of Roye, and drove off cattle, and whatever else they could lay hands on, to the castle of Clermont. They were usually accompanied by several garrisons as well

from Mortemer *, belonging to William de Flavy, as from others. The governor of Roye for the duke of Burgundy, was a valiant noble man, called Aubert de Folleville, who, hearing of their enterprise assembled with all speed as many men at arms as he could collect, and instantly pursued them, in the hope of recovering the plunder they were carrying away. He overtook them at a village called Boulogne, and immediately charged them; but they had seen him coming, and had placed an ambuscade, who sallied out against sir Aubert, and, from their superior numbers, defeated him and put him to death. Many gentlemen were likewise killed, such as the souldan de la Bretonnerie, his nephew Hugh de Bazincourt, the bastard d'Esne, Colart de Picellen, Jacques de Bruyiere, Jean Basin, Simon le Maire, and several more: the rest saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses.

The duke of Burgundy was greatly vexed at this defeat, and at similar in-

* Mortimer,—a village in the election of Mondidier.

roads being made on his territories,—and to oppose these pillagers, the count d'Estampes reinforced the garrisons of Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier with men at arms.

CHAP. V.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE ORDERS HIS CAPTAINS TO RECONQUER SOME TOWNS AND CASTLES FROM THE ENGLISH.—HE MARCHES IN PERSON AGAINST MONTEREAU-FAUT-YONNE, AND RECAPTURES IT.

In these days, king Charles sent orders to his nobles and captains, scattered throughout the realm, to meet him, on an appointed day, at Gien sur Loire, as he was resolved to regain some of the towns and castles the English held near to Montargis and in the Gâtinois.

The king was met at Gien by the constable of France, sir Jacques d'Anjou, the count de Perdiac, the count de Vendôme, the bastard of Orleans and others. It was there determined in council, that

the constable and the count de Perdiac should advance to Château Landon * with their men, and besiege it. This was instantly executed, and the place surrounded on all sides, to the great alarm of the English garrison. They were so far inland that they had little hopes of being relieved, and were beside badly provided with provision and stores: notwithstanding, they made show as if they meant to defend themselves to the last.

When the constable summoned them to surrender on having their lives spared, they made answer, that they were not so advised, and that it would cost him dear before such an event happened. However, on the third day, they were so courageously attacked that the place was taken by storm, when the greater part of those within were hanged, especially such as were natives of France: the rest had their liberties, on paying ransoms.

When this business was finished, the two lords marched their army to besiege Nemours; which held out for about twelve

* Château Landon,—in he Gâtinois, three leagues from Nemours.

days, when it surrendered, on the inhabitants and garrison having their lives and effects spared, and being allowed to march off to Montereau.

While these things were passing, sir Gascon de Logus, bailiff of Bourges, in Berry, in company with other captains, laid siege to the town and castle of Terny, held by the English, which, after a few days, surrendered, on the garrison having their lives and fortunes spared. When they marched away, sir Gascon, mounted on a spirited courser, escorted them part of the road; but, on spurring him, the horse turned short round, and the knight fell with such force that he was killed on the spot,—and Poton de Saintrailles was, by the king, appointed bailiff of Bourges in his stead.

Shortly after, the king, with his company, went from Gien to Sens in Burgundy, and thence to Braye-sur-Seine. From this place, he sent the lord de Gaucourt, sir Denis de Sailly, Poton de Saintrailles, Boussac, the bastard de Beaumanoir, with other captains, and about sixteen hundred fighting men, to Mon-

tereau-faut-Yonne. They posted themselves on an eminence opposite the castle, on the side toward Brie, and raised there a large blockhouse, which they fortified as strongly as they could, placing therein a numerous garrison.

The constable, the count de Perdiac, the bastard of Orleans, sir James de Chabannes, with their men, advanced on the side toward the Gâtinois, and took up their quarters near to the town. After them came the lord de Valogne, sir Anselm de la Tour bailiff of Vitry, Regnault Guillaume bailiff of Montargis, who posted themselves on the island, between the two rivers, so that the place was surrounded on all sides by the army of the king of France; and they pointed so many cannons against the walls that they were soon greatly damaged.

The commander in chief, within the town and castle, for the king of England, was sir Thomas Gerard, having under him Mondo de Montferrant, Mondo de Lausay, and other valiant captains, together with three or four hundred combatants, who made as vigorous a resist-

ance against their enemies as their circumstances would permit. They had great hopes of succour from the english commanders in Normandy, according to their promises.

The king of France now arrived at Montereau from Bray-sur-Seine, grandly accompanied, and was lodged in the block-house before mentioned. He had with him six or seven thousand, well tried and well equipped, fighting men. On his arrival, the greatest exertions were made to approach the town,—and the cannons, and other engines, were continually in action; the king even did not spare himself in the labours of this siege.

At the end of six weeks, or thereabouts, from the commencement of the siege, the town was won by storm, with little loss to the assailants. With regard to the besieged, from twenty to thirty were killed, and as many made prisoners, the greater part of whom were hanged. The king, on making his entry, strictly forbade any mischief being done to the persons of the inhabitants, men, women or children, who had retired within churches

or monasteries; but as for their effects they were plundered, as is usual when any place is taken by storm.

Many new knights were made at the storming, namely, the young count de Tancarville, son to sir James de Harcourt, Robert de Bethune lord de Moreul, and others.

The king and most of the princes were lodged in the town; and, about fifteen days afterward, those in the castle surrendered to the king, on having their lives and fortunes spared. The bastard of Orleans was then appointed governor, who regarrisoned it with his own men.

When this business was settled, the king and dauphin, with great part of the princes, went to Melun. The men at arms separated, in companies, to divers places, but most of them went to Paris.

CHAP. VI.

THE MEN OF BRUGES MAKE FREQUENT EXCURSIONS FROM THEIR TOWN, AND LAY THE LOW COUNTRIES UNDER CONTRIBUTIONS.

We must now return to what was going forward at Bruges, the inhabitants of which continued their mad and foolish rebellion against their prince.

They made frequent sallies in large bodies to forage the low country, and to destroy the houses of all whom they suspected as enemies. Among others, they took the castle of Kpecklare, held by the bastard of Bailleul, and did great damage to it.

On the other hand, when they remained within the town, they committed many acts of injustice on such as they knew were of a contrary way of thinking to themselves. In the number of their wicked deeds, they caused the deacon of the handicraft trades to be beheaded, on a charge which they made

against him of intending to deliver up the town to the ghent men. But all the principal and most wealthy citizens had left Bruges, and gone to other places for fear of them.

The cominonalty next collected a body of three or four thousand, and marched against Sluys, with every implement of war to lay siege to it, for they had an implacable hatred against it. The duke of Burgundy and sir Simon de Lalain were in that place, with a certain number of combatants: notwithstanding this, the men of Bruges remained before it three and twenty days, and made many attacks on the barriers and gates,—in which numbers were killed and wounded on each side, but more especially on that of Bruges.

The duke of Burgundy, during this time, was assembling a large force of the nobles and men at arms in Picardy, and in his lordships near to St Omer, with intent to give them battle. But in the interim, the bruges men, fearful of the consequences, prevailed on those of Ghent to mediate between them and the duke, and returned quietly to Bruges.

CHAP. VII.

THE ENGLISH RECOVER THE TOWN OF FÉCAMP IN NORMANDY.

At this period, the English laid siege to the town of Fêcamp in Normandy. They remained before it about three months, when it capitulated, on the garrison and townsmen having their lives and fortunes spared. It was, however, within a few days after, reconquered by the French. A severe warfare was now carrying on throughout Normandy, and frequent skirmishes took place between the parties, one of which deserves notice *.

La Hire, Poton de Saintrailles, the lord de Fontaines, L'Avagan, and other captains, had one day collected about six hundred fighting men, and advanced toward Rouen, in the expectation of gain-

* This expedition and failure have been before related in chap. ii. with very little variation: in the first, it was to gain Rouen by surprise and treachery.

ing some advantage over their adversaries the English. Having failed, they returned toward Beauvais; but as they and their horses were much fatigued, they halted at a village called Ris, to refresh and repose themselves.

During this time, sir Thomas Kiriel, with a body of English, surprised the village, and defeated them completely, with little loss, before they could arm and collect together. The lord de Fontaines, Alardin de Moussay, with numbers of others, were made prisoners, La Hire, with difficulty, escaped by the goodness of his horse,—but he was severely wounded in many places. Poton de Saintrailles, and others, escaped also,—but they lost the greater part of their horses and arms. The English, after this victory, returned to Rouen: joyful at their success, however, they soon after lost the town of Fécamp, as has been related.

CHAP. VIII.

THE LORD D'OFFEMONT MAKES LA HIRE HIS PRISONER WHILE HE WAS PLAYING AT BALL AT BEAUVAIS.

WHILE these matters were passing, the lord d'Offemont, who had not forgotten the ill treatment he had suffered from La Hire, when he was made prisoner and ransomed at Clermont in the Beauvoisis, as has been mentioned, assembled a body of about six score combatants, under his brother-in-law the lord de Moy the bastard de Chauny, and other captains.

By means of the lord de Moy he led them to the city of Beauvais, of which La Hire was governor, and was at this moment playing at ball in the court of an inn having the sign of St Martin. The lord d'Offemont hastened thither with his men, for he had learnt where La Hire was, from his spies; but La Hire hearing of his approach, had

hidden himself in a stable under the manger, where he was found and taken, after some search, by the lord d'Offemont's men, together with one called Perret de Salle-noire.

They were instantly mounted behind two men at arms, and told, that if they made the slightest noise, or cry to be rescued, they would that moment be put to death. Without further delay, they were carrried through the gates of the town; but several of his men, and the common people, assembled to pursue them and attempt their deliverance, when some skirmishing took place with arrows. They were first carried to the castle of Moy, and thence to Meulan, where they were detained a considerable time. They were afterwards removed to the castle of Ancre *, belonging to the lord d'Offemont, and kept prisoners.

The king of France and many of his officers were very angry at this capture, for it had taken place on the terri-

*Ancre,—or Albert, a small town in Picardy, diocese of Amiens, four leagues from Peronne.

tories of France; but the nobles who had accompanied the lord d'Offemont excused themselves by saying, that they had done this service to the lord d'Offemont from their near relationship in blood to him. The king wrote very pressing letters to the duke of Burgundy in favour of la Hire, that he might be set at liberty, and that no personal harm might be done to him.

In short, the matter was so strongly urged that the duke of Burgundy found means, partly by threats, that the whole of their quarrel should be submitted to his decision, after it had been discussed before his council. The discussion lasted for several days, in the presence of the duke at Douay, when, as well perhaps to please the king (who had very strongly written to him,) as because he did not think the mode of making La Hire prisoner fair or honourable, but just the contrary, the duke made up the quarrel, and the lord d'Offemont had his castle of Clermont restored to him, and a sum of money paid, but not so much as he had been forced to give for his ransom.

Perret de Salle-noire was ordered to pay one thousand crowns for his liberty. Thus were all differences settled between them, and they were made friends.

At the same time, peace was made between La Hire and sir John de Luxembourg, who had hated him mortally, as well for his having taken Soissons as for other damages he had done to different parts of his territories; and they remained to all appearance good friends ever after.

La Hire soon returned to the king of France, and related all the kindness and favour the duke of Burgundy had shown him, from his regard to his majesty. This was very agreeable to the king, who entertained La Hire very splendidly, and gave him, at the same time, wherewithal to discharge the greater part of his ransom, and the other expences he had incurred.

When La Hire's men heard that they were to quit the castle of Clermont, they set about repairing an old fortress called Thoys, belonging to the lord de Crevecœur, wherein they placed

themselves, and again began to harrass all the country near to Amiens and Pecquigny, more especially the lordships of those who had been assisting in the capture of la Hire, their captain. The principal leader, both in the reparation of the castle and in their oppressions of the country, was one who called himself Philip de la Tour,

CHAP. IX.

CHARLES KING OF FRANCE MAKES HIS FIRST ENTRY INTO PARIS AFTER ITS REDUCTION,—THE PREPARATIONS FOR IT.

On Tuesday the 12th of November, in this year, king Charles of France was lodged in the town of St Denis. He was accompanied by his son the dauphin of Vienne, the constable of France, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the counts de Perdiac, de Vendôme, and the young count de Tancarville, sir Christopher de Harcourt, the bastard of Orleans, and a very great number of nobles, great lords, knights and esquires. La Hire was also there in very grand state.

The provost of merchants and the sheriffs of Paris came out as far as La Chapelle to meet him, attended by the citizens, cross-bows, and archers of the town, dressed in robes similar to those of the peers. When they met the king, the provost presented him with the keys of Paris, which the king delivered to the care of the constable. The provost and sheriffs, then expanded a blue canopy, studded with flowers de luce of gold, over the king's head, and thus supported it as he proceeded.

He was next met by the governor of Paris, attended by his common sergeants, having each of them a hood half green and half crimson. After the sergeants came the notaries, attornies, advocates and commissaries of the Chastelet. Then came persons representing the seven virtues and the seven deadly sins, dressed in character, and on horseback: they were followed by the judges of the parliament, of the court of requests, the presidents and by crowds of people.

Thus nobly accompanied did the king

make his entry into the city of Paris by the gate of St Denis. Three angels supported a shield bearing the arms of France over the gate above which were placed angels singing and underneath was written in large characters,

'Most excellent and noble king,
The burghers of this loyal town
To you their grateful offering bring,
And bow before your royal crown.'

At the little bridge was a fountain, over which was a pot having a flower de luce, whence spouted good hippocras, wine and water: two dolphins were playing in the fountain,—and above the whole was a terrace, vaulted with flowers de luce, which exhibited a representation of St John Baptist pointing to the Agnus Dei, surrounded with angels singing melodiously.

In front of Trinity-church was a pageant of the passion of our Lord, and how Judas hanged himself. Those who exhibited this did not speak, but acted as in a pantomime. The acting was good, and very affecting.

At the second gate were the figures of St Thomas, St Denis, St Maurice, St Louis of France, and Ste Genevieve in the middle. There was likewise a representation of the holy sepulchre, of the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, and of his meeting Mary Magdalen.

Item, at St Catherine's, in the street of St Denis, was a representation of the descent of the holy Ghost on the Apostles. Before the Châtelet was the annunciation of the angel to the shepherds, singing, 'Glory be to God on high, &c. Suspended below the gate were represented the attributes of justice with divine law, the law of nature, and the law of man. On the opposite side, against the slaughter-houses, were exhibited the last judgement, paradise, and hell: in the centre was St Michael weighing souls in a balance.

Item, at the foot of the great bridge, behind the Châtelet, was represented the baptism of our Lord, and St Margaret issuing out of the mouth of a dragon.

When the king came to the front of the church of Nôtre Dame, he dismounted, and was shortly harangued by the

members of the university. The following prelates were waiting for his arrival before the great door: the archbishop of Toulouse and of Sens, the bishops of Paris, of Clermont, of St Mangon, near Montpellier, the abbots and superior clergy of St Denis, of St Maur, of St Germain near Paris, of Sainte Magloire and of Sainte Genevieve.

The king made the usual oaths in the hands of the bishop of Paris, and then entered the church,—where had been erected three arches, like to those at Amiens the last day of the year, covered with tapers and wax lights.

When the king had offered up his prayers, he went to the palace, where he lay that night. He was escorted on his entrance by about eight hundred archers, well equipped and in handsome array, under the command of the count of Angoulême.

The king and the dauphin were dressed in plain armour, all but their heads: on that of the king was a tourmole * covered with silversmith's work.

* Tourmole. Q. Not in any of my dictionaries.

His horse's housing was of dark blue velvet, richly embroidered with large flowers de luce in gold, which reached to the ground. The head-piece was of polished steel, bearing a handsome plume of feathers. He was preceded a few paces by Poton de Saintrailles. carrying the royal helmet on a staff supported by his thigh, having a rich crown on the top, and in the centre was a double flower de luce. His horse was led by a gentleman on foot, named Jean d'Olon,—and the canopy was all the while borne over his head. The king was followed by his pages, very richly dressed, and ornamented with silversmith's work, as well as their horses.

A little before Poton rode the comstable of France, the counts de Vendôme and de Tancarville, and others of the high nobility, handsomely mounted and richly dressed. At a short distance behind the king was the dauphin, his armour covered over with silversmith's work, as well as his horse, and his pages and their horses also. He was accompanied by his uncle the lord Charles d'Anjou,

the counts de Perdiac and de la Marche, and followed by the bastard of Orleans in plain armour,—but his horse's accoutrements were highly ornamented. He had on a rich scarf of gold, which fell down on the back of his horse. He commanded the king's battalion consisting of about a thousand lances, the flower of the men at arms, most handsomely dressed out, themselves and horses.

With regard to the other knights, esquires, and gentlemen present at this ceremony, they were very numerous, and richly equipped at all points, and their horses loaded with silversmith's work. Among these, but after the princes, sir James de Chabannes and the lord de Restelant had the reputation of being most handsomely dressed, themselves their attendants and horses.

The crowd of common people was so great that it was difficult to walk the streets; and they sang carols in all the squares, and other places, as loud as they could, for the welcome return of their natural lord and king, with his son the dauphin. Many even wept for joy at this happy event.

The king and the dauphin, as I have said, when the ceremonies were over, went to the palace, where they were lodged,—and the lords, knights, and others in different houses in Paris as well as they could. It was proclaimed in the king's name, by sound of trumpet, that no one, whatever his rank, should ill treat the Parisians in body or effects, on pain of instant death.

On the morrow, the king displayed to the populace, in the holy chapel, the relics of the true-cross of our Saviour, and the lance which had pierced his side while on the cross: after which, he mounted his horse, and went to lodge at the new hôtel, near the bastille,—and the dauphin did the same at the Tournelles.

They remained for a considerable time in Paris,—during which, many new regulations were made for the better government of the realm: and several new offices were created at Paris, as well as in the court of parliament as elsewhere.

Some days after the king's entry into Paris, the counts de la Marche and de Perdiac (sons to Bernard count d'Armag-

nac, formerly constable of France, who had been basely murdered by the Parisians) went to the spot where their father had been buried, attended by many lords, as well spiritual as temporal, and had the body taken up, put into a leaden coffin, and carried to the church of St Martin des Champs, where a solemn service, attended by the members of the greater part of the colleges and university of Paris, was performed for his soul. On the morrow, the coffin was placed on a car covered with black, and conveyed out of the town with much solemnity, and thence conducted by his two said sons, and a numerous company of friends and attendants, to the county of Armagnac.

CHAP. X.

THE COMMONALTY OF BRUGES BECOME MORE MODERATE IN THEIR PROCEEDINGS, AND SEND AMBASSADORS TO THE DUKE OR BURGUNDY TO SUE FOR PEACE.

The men of Bruges now began to feel that they had greatly offended their prince

the duke of Burgundy, and were much alarmed; for, as none of the great towns in Flanders would afford them support or assistance, they could not long withstand the duke.

They knew also, that they were not in great favour with the ghent men; and each day brought them intelligence of the mighty preparations their lord was making to subjugate them, in which he would have the aid of Ghent. For these and other reasons, they found means to send ambassadors to the duke at Arras, to endeavour to conclude a peace. The business was discussed at length, and occupied much time,—during which, those of Bruges relaxed in their excursions, and ceased harrassing the country as they had hitherto done.

CHAP. XI.

THE LORD D'AUXY AND SIR FLORIMONT DE BRIMEU, SENESCHAL OF PONTHIEU AND OF ABBEVILLE, MARCH TO LAY SIEGE TO CROTOY.

About the middle of October, in this year, the lord d'Auxy, commander in chief, on the frontiers of Ponthieu and Abbeville, together with sir Florimont de Brimeu, seneschal of the same, and a bold and hardy knight of Rhodes, called sir John de Foix, assembled a certain number of combatants. These they marched before the castle of Crotoy, held by the English, with the hope of conquering and putting it under the obedience of the duke of Burgundy within a short time, from the intelligence of a peasant,—who had lately, as he said, been in the castle, and the garrison had so wasted their corn and flour that he gave them to understand they would not be able to hold out, from famine, more than one month.

On this report, which was afterward

found to be untrue, they fixed their quarters in front of the castle, within the old inclosure of the town. They demanded assistance from different lords, who sent them some men at arms. They were also much aided with provisions and money from Abbeville, the inhabitants of which were very desirous that Crotoy should be conquered, for the garrison had frequently done them great mischief. They sent intelligence of what they were about to the duke of Burgundy, and required his support. The duke dispatched some of his household to examine into the matter, and they reported to him, that unless the place were blockaded by sea, it would be impossible to reduce it by famine. Upon this, the duke wrote letters to the governors of Dieppe, St Valery, and of the adjoining sea-ports, to hire as many vessels as they could to blockade the entrance of the river Somme; and went himself to the castle of Hêdin, whither he sent for sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, who had been formerly governor of Crotoy, to ask his opinion as to the probability of its being conquered.

The duke ordered sir John to join the lord d'Auxy and his companions, with a body of men at arms, and to take the chief command of the siege. He went thither also himself, with few attendants, to examine into the state of the business, but made no long stay. That his men might be undisturbed by the English in their quarters, either by sea or land, from Crotoy, he ordered a large blockhouse to be erected, wherein they might be more securely lodged. It was very substantially built, and surrounded with ditches, under the directions of a knight called sir Baudo de Noyelle. When this was done, other works were erected, and the whole provided with a sufficiency of all sorts of stores and provision. In the interim, several skirmishes passed,—and in one of them the lieutenant governor of Crotoy was taken prisoner by the lord d'Auxy.

Intelligence of these preparations of the duke of Burgundy was carried to king Henry of England and his council, who were not well pleased thereat; for they were sensible of the great advantage of

Crotoy to facilitate their landing a force in Picardy. It was therefore resolved to provide a speedy remedy against them; and letters were instantly dispatched to the governor of Rouen, ordering him to collect as large a body of men at arms as he could in Normandy, and to march to the relief of Crotoy. This order was immediately published, and four thousand combatants, as well horse as infantry, speedily assembled, under the command of lord Talbot, lord Faulconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriel and others. They advanced to the abbey of St Valery, where they quartered themselves, having brought provision with them.

While this army was collecting, the duke of Burgundy, having had information of the intentions of the English, had previously summoned from Picardy and his other dominions the greater part of his nobility and men at arms, who might amount to eight hundred or a thousand fighting men. They marched from Hêdin, and had arrived at Abbeville the day before the English came to the abbey of St Valery.

The duke of Burgundy was attended on this expedition by the count d'Estampes, his nephew of Cleves, the count de St Pol, and other nobles. Sir John de Luxembourg had also, in obedience to his summons, joined him at Hêdin,—but he excused himself to the duke for not bearing arms, because he had not then sent back his oath of alliance with the English, and could not therefore with honour then take part against them: but this excuse, as I was informed, was not well received by the duke of Burgundy, who remonstrated with him on the occasion,—how he was bound by his oath to serve him, as his vassal; that he wore his order, and had always been attached to his party; for all these reasons, therefore, he could not honourably refuse to serve him, more especially as it was to repulse his enemies, who had invaded several parts of his dominions. Notwithstanding the duke's arguments, sir John de Luxembourg returned home with his permission, and obtained from the duke letters of remission to this effect. When the duke, on his arrival at Abbe-

ville, was assured of the coming of the English, he reinforced that town with all sorts of stores and provision, and there might be with him from eight hundred to a thousand expert and well tried men at arms. When the duke asked them if they thought they could hold out the place against the enemy, they replied, that they had no doubt of so doing.

The duke determined not to make any engagement of fighting the English on an appointed day, and to avoid a general action; to guard all the defiles and fords, and to attack them in their quarters, or wherever they should meet them to their disadvantage, and to endeavour to cut off their supplies. These plans were not, however, carried into execution.

The English, having fixed their quarters in the abbey of Saint Valery, immediately crossed the river at a ford above Crotoy, to the number of three or four hundred, and foraged the whole of the country round the blockhouse, and even as far as the town of Rue. They made prisoners of some men at arms, with

their horses and baggage, without meeting with any to oppose them.

The whole army marched on the morrow very early, and crossed the river in good order: about two thousand of the infantry had the water above their middle and drew up in battle-array on an eminence above the town, and in sight of those within the blockhouse, who were expecting an attack every moment, and in consequence made preparation for their defence. On this occasion, the following were created knights in the blockhouse: James de Craon lord of Dommart in Ponthieu, Aymon de Moucy lord of Massy, Eustache d'Inchy, the tall bastard of Renty, Anthony d'Ardentin lord of Bouchanes, Harpin de Richammes, Gilles de Fay, and some others.

The English, who had been unmolested on their march, advanced to Forest-monstier*, two leagues distant, and there quartered themselves.—Two days after they took the field, and halted at a large

Forest-monstier,—election of Dourlens, near Abbeville.

village called La Broye*, on the river Authie, which was full of all kinds of provision: they remained at this village four or five days, whence parties of a hundred or six score went daily foraging all the villages within half a league of their quarters. While they remained at la Broye, a party went to set fire to a considerable village called Angien, close to Hêdin, although the duke had detached a large body of men at arms to Hêdin for the defence of that place and the surrounding country; but, to say the truth, the Engl sh did little mischief. On their departure from la Broye, they burnt it down, and advanced to Auxi, where they staid three days, making thence excursions in small parties to forage all the country round, and without the smallest hinderance on the part of their adversaries of whom it is necessary now to speak.

The duke of Burgundy remained in Abbeville, but had detached the greater part of his men to garrison and defend

* Broye,—ba.liwick of Hêdin

the principal towns and castles in that part of his territories. He one day sent the lord de Croy and Jean de Brimeu, bailiff of Amiens, to inspect the blockhouse at Crotoy, and to learn if those within were firmly resolved to defend it:—On their arrival, they soon discovered that the greater number would gladly be out of it, could they do it with honour. It was therefore concluded by the duke and his ministers, on hearing this report, that to avoid worse happening, all the artillery and stores should be packed up, and the men at arms retreat with them to the town of Rue, after they should have set fire to the blockhouse.

The garrison, however, did not make so honourable a retreat,—for without any reasonable cause, nor seeing the enemy near them, great part mutinied, and sallied out of the blockhouse in the utmost confusion and disorder, leaving behind the artillery, the most part of their armour, and much other baggage; and thus they marched to Rue.

Some of their captains took great

pains to rally and bring them back, but in vain. Fire had been secretly set to the outworks, which soon communicated with the blockhouse and consumed it. The English made a sally from the castle, shouting after them as they would have done to a ribald mob.

Shortly after, the captains, who were (as may be supposed) the most valiant and renowned belonging to the duke of Burgundy, left the place, ashamed of the conduct of their men, and went to Rue, and thence to other places under their obedience. The principal among them were, sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, sir Florimont de Brimeu, sir Jacques de Brimeu, sir Baudo de Noyelle—all four bearing the order of the Golden Fleece; sir Waleran de Moreul, the lord d'Auxi, sir Galois de Renty, the lord de Fremesen, sir Robert de Saveuses, sir Jacques de Craon, sir Jean d'Arly, with a great number of knights and esquires from Picardy who were much blamed for this dishonourable retreat.—They excused themselves by throwing the fault on the archers, whom they said they could not restrain.

The English heard of this event the day it happened, and were greatly rejoiced. In consequence, they resolved to recross the Somme and return to the places they had come from, and burnt down the town of Auxi, which was a fair and considerable place.

They took the road to Crotoy, and lodged at Nonnion*: on the morrow, they recrossed the Somme at the place where they had crossed it before, and quartered themselves at the abbey of St Valery, and thence returned to Rouen and other parts under their command, carrying with them many prisoners, horses, cattle, and all the plunder they had made. They had done great damage to the country by burning seven or eight towns and villages, without meeting with any opposition from their adversaries, who had hanged only thirty or forty foragers that had straggled at too great a distance from the main body.

When the English were departed, the duke of Burgundy retired to Hèdin,

* Nonnion. Q.

where he dismissed all his men at arms excepting those appointed to guard the frontiers.

CHAP. XII.

A LARGE BODY OF MEN AT ARMS, UNDER THE COMMAND OF SEVERAL FRENCH CAPTAINS, HARRASS THE COUNTRY OF HAINAULT. — THEY ARE NICKNAMED SKINNERS.

When king Charles had resided some time in Paris, he departed for Tours in Touraine. After he was gone, several of his captains set out for the frontiers of Normandy, as they found great difficulty to maintain themselves,—namely, Anthony de Chabannes, Blanchefort, Gaultin de Bron, Floquet, Pierre, Regnault Chapelle, Mathelin d'Escouvet, and others. On assembling together, they mustered about two thousand horse, and took the road through the country of Vimeu, to cross the Somme at Blanchetaque, and quarter

themselves in the country of Ponthieu. Thence they advanced toward Dourlens, and stationed themselves at Orville, and in the villages round, belonging to the count de St Pol. They went next toward Braye, and recrossed the Somme at Cappy, to lodge at Lihons in Santerre, committing great mischiefs wherever they passed.

They were not satisfied with seizing on provision but ransomed all they could lay hands on, peasants and cattle. They even attacked the castle of Lihons; but it was well defended by sir Waleran de Moreul and his men within it.

After remaining there some time, and committing the greatest disorders and waste, they advanced toward the lands of sir John de Luxembourg count de Ligny, in the Cambresis, who had not yet taken the oaths of allegiance to king Charles. Nevertheless, they did him no mischief, because he was always well provided with men at arms,—and they mutually exchanged sealed agreements not to molest each other. The French, however, committed much waste in other

parts of the Cambresis, and thence went to fix their quarters at Solesmes*, in Hainault.

Sir John de Croy, at that time bailiff of Hainault, assembled the nobles of Hainault, and sent to the principal towns for reinforcements to defend the country against these French, who, in the vulgar tongue, were called Skinners. The reason why this name had been given them was, that whoever was met by them, whether French, Burgundian or English, he was indiscriminately stripped of all his clothes to his shirt; and when he, thus naked, returned to his home, he was told that he had been in the hands of the Skinners, and much laughed at for his misfortune. This name was in vogue a long time,—and thus the name of Armagnac was forgotten which had lasted so long.

While these Skinners were quartered at Solesmes, and in the adjoining villages a party of them advanced farther into Hainault, beyond Quênoy, to seek for

* Solesmes,—a village of Hainault under the government of Quesnoy.

pillage. In the course of this expedition they accidentally met the bailiff of Lessines named Colart de Sennieres, with three or four hundred men whom he had assembled in his village, and was marching them toward Quênoy le Comte, in obedience to the summons of the countess-dowager and of the before mentioned bailiff of Hainault, who was there collecting all his forces together.

It was very early in the morning when the French fell in with these men, and instantly charged them most courageously. The Hainaulters were much surprised at the suddenness of the attack, and although some of them made a resistance and prepared for the combat, they were very soon defeated, and the greater part made prisoners or cruelly put to death. Colart was killed on the field, with about eight score of his men. The prisoners were ransomed as if they had been enemies to France: the rest escaped by the nimbleness of their heels.

The nobles of Hainault were greatly alarmed at this defeat, in so much that the bailiff sent information of what

had happened to the duke of Burgundy requiring from him aid, when the duke sent him a strong reinforcement of men at arms. The bailiff again assembled a greater force than before in Quênoy, as well from Valenciennes, as from the other great towns, to pursue and combat these Skinners; but they, hearing of it, quitted the country and made for Guise, and thence proceeded toward Champagne, committing waste wherever they passed.

Before they left Hainault, they gave up several prisoners without ransoms, in consequence of the duke of Burgundy's writing to request it. He had also sent to them a gentleman of his household, called Meliades, who was a Breton, and much beloved by these french captains.

CHAP. XIII.

A GREAT FAMINE IN FRANCE.

In this year of 1437, wheat and all sorts of corn were so extravagantly dear throughout all France and several other countries in Christendom, that what had usually been sold for four sols french money was now sold for upwards of forty. This dearth created a famine, so that very many poor died of want,—and it was a pitiful sight to witness the multitudes in the large towns dying in heaps on dunghills.

Some towns drove the poor out of them, while others received all, and administered to their wants as long as they were able. The foremost in this act of mercy was the city of Cambray. This dearth lasted until the year 1439, and was the cause of many strict regulations respecting corn, which by many lords and towns was forbidden to be carried out of their jurisdictions under the most severe penalties.

A proclamation was made in Ghent ordering a stop to be put to the brewing of beer, and other liquors, from corn, and all the dogs of poor people to be killed, and that no one should keep a bitch-dog unless splayed. Such and other like ordinances were issued in several parts, that the poor, and beggars, might be supplied with a sufficiency to support nature.

CHAP. XIV.

THE POPULACE OF GHENT AGAIN TAKE UP ARMS, EXCITED THERETO BY THE ARTISANS.

At this time, the ghent men, in great numbers rose in arms, through the instigation of the artisans. The reason they gave for this was, that the garrison of Sluys had plundered the flat country round,—the inhabitants of which had made their complaints to them, at the same time requesting them to punish the pillagers.

They had also taken up arms against Bruges, to know whether they would peaceably separate from those of the Franc*, and allow them to become one of the four departments of Ghent. They wanted likewise to march against Sluys, and carry away the posts that had been placed in the bed of the river Lieve, to prevent merchandise from passing up or down. They had further designs of visiting all Flanders, to see who were their friends and willing to support them in the maintenance of peace in the country, that the poor might have work in all the towns. Should the sheriffs and inhabitants of Ghent refuse to co-operate with them, they had resolved to undertake the matter themselves, with the aid of their allies. They declared, they would not lay down their arms until they should have accomplished their undertaking. The deacon of these artisans, at this time, was one

* Franc,—a part of the Low Countries, comprehending the castlewicks of Bergues, Bourbourg, and Furnes. It was thus called from being exempted from the jurisdiction of Bruges, on which it formerly depended.

Pierre Hemubloc. The sheriffs explained the whole of this business to the townsmen, to the deacon of the weavers, and to those of the other trades, at the usual place, before the town-house, that they might fully consider it, each with their brother-tradesmen, and lay the whole of their deliberations, on the morrow, before the magistracy. Each trade, in consequence, had a meeting at their different halls; and the deacons waited on the magistrates on the 9th day of October.

After many debates, the demands of the artisans were acceded to, owing to their own importunities, and those of their supporters, but not without great murmurings on the part of the principal inhabitants, because Bruges was at that time treating for peace with the duke of Burgundy at Lille, whither Ghent had sent ambassadors, and because they thought that this was only a pretext to seize the properties of the rich.

The artisans, having carried their point, immediately hastened to the corn-market, with displayed banners, and were

instantly joined by the tailors, old clothes-sellers, and all the inferior tradesmen. They were followed by the twenty-seven banners of weavers, the bailiff with the magistracy, preceded by the banner of Flanders, and crowds of common people, so that, in the whole there were eighty-two banners.

The magistrates soon departed, and the other banners after them in the usual procession; but the artisans and their friends withdrew to the friday market-place, in front of the hall of appeals where they remained all night, in the resolution of taking the field on the morrow.

The better part of the weavers, however, and the more substantial inhabitants were of a contrary opinion, and left the artisans, being averse to go to war. Upon this, a quarrel arose between them, which nearly caused a battle, the artisans retired to one side of the market-place from the others, telling those to follow them who were of the same opinion.

Several joined them,—and they then

all marched away in handsome array for Marienkirk, on the road to Bruges, were they encamped under tents and pavilions. At this time also, there were great riots in several places, on account of the debasements of the new coinage of 1433 as well as the old coinage, and for the heavy taxes which had been imposed for the expedition to Calais.

No english wool was now exported to Flanders, which threw very many out of work and bread: more especially the town of Ypres suffered from this, as their principal manufacture was working up these wools into cloth. On the other hand, corn and every necessary of life were extravagantly dear; and provision became more scarce in Flanders from the war carrying on by those of Bruges; moreover, the townsmen of Sluys had fixed stakes in the bed of the Lieve, so that a stop was put to the transport of merchandise on that river.

The rich took every care of their money, for they perceived that the poorer sort, now having arms, would probably live by plunder, and that few of them

would return to their trades or cultivate the fields. They also made as little show of wealth from expecting daily that a general war would take place in one quarter or another.

The men of Ghent next issued a summons to all the inhabitants of towns and villages throughout their jurisdictions, to appear there immediately in arms, and the same number as when ordered to march to Calais. The sheriffs laid this summons before the commonalty and inhabitants, for them to advise thereon. As this was not willingly attended to, some went to the sheriffs to obtain a delay, or that they might send fewer in number,—but the sheriffs told them they must immediately obey.

During this time, the ghent men chosen a commander named Rasse Rouven, a citizen of Ghent, of about thirty years old; to assist whom they appointed a council of twelve persons, who had never been in the magistracy of that town. Four of these councellors were selected from the citizens at large, four from the weaver's company, and four from the artisans;

but the person whom they had chosen for commander refused to take the office.

Item, on the 9th day of October, it had been proclaimed in the sheriff's court, that all foreign merchants must appear within three days in the town of Ghent sufficiently well armed, under pain of corporal punishment and confiscation of effects. Several did appear within the time prescribed; but others sent excuses that urgent and lawful business prevented them, and entered into a treaty to pay a sum of money to be excused.

Those who had, in obedience to the summons, gone to Ghent, after remaining there three days without being any way employed, returned to their homes. On the 27th day of this same month of October, they were again summoned to appear under pain of losing their citizenship, and paying the forfeiture. On this same day, eight soldiers from Sluys were taken prisoners, who, under pretence of making war on the bruges men, had pillaged the country.

The men of St Laurence-au-bloc had taken them, under the proclamation that had been made, that all pillagers

should be arrested and brought to justice, and that when they could not be taken alive they should be put to death. These they disarmed, and, retaining their armour and clothes, led them to the ghent army at Marienkirk in their pourpoints,—and, the ensuing day, they were beheaded, according to the sentence of the sheriffs. Their bodies, at the request of the head deacon, were given to the Austin-friars, who buried them. Four men were expelled the army of Ghent for having robbed some villages.

The before-mentioned Rasse, who had been elected commander in chief, went to the duke of Burgundy at Arras for his commission, provided his appointment were agreeable to the duke. He left behind him in Ghent three lieutenants: one chosen from the burghers, called Jean l'Estauble,—one from the trades, called Jean Cacialle,—and the third from the company of weavers, called Jean de Sterque.

On Monday, the 4th day of November, Rasse returned with his commission, as captain-general of the ghent

men, signed by the duke of Burgundy. He had taken the oaths of allegiance before the lords of the council at Lille, and took similar oaths in the presence of the army in the hands of the bailiff and sheriffs of Ghent, to be true and loyal to the prince, to preserve his rights as well as those of the town,—to observe law and justice, and to keep the people in peace and union. The twelve councellors took the same oaths.

On the 5th of November, the captain-general Rasse, with two deputies from each banner and from the municipality, went from Marienkirk to Ghent, at the request of those who had taken up arms, and arrested several persons who had principally governed that town,—namely, Louis de Holle, who had been first sheriff, Lievin de Jagre, who had often served that office and been treasurer, Gilles le Clerc, advocate, Jean l'Apothicaire, who had been treasurer and sheriff of Ghent and Jacques la Jaschere, formerly deacon of the trades.

These they confined together, as prisoners, in the palace of the prince,

calling them traitors, and would have done the same to others, but they had fled.

The commander in chief ordered proclamation to be made for all who had served any offices in Ghent for the last ten years to join, without delay, the army at Marienkirk. It was now greatly augmented, for those within their jurisdictions came handsomely equipped and attended, with the exception of those from Courtray,—and their tents and pavilions had, at a distance, the appearance of a large town.

The army appeared under arms on the 6th instant, and wanted to go to Ghent, and bring back with them the prisoners; but their captain restrained them, saying, that it had been ordered that they should remain in prison until the army were returned home, when ample justice would be done on them according to the evidence that a general investigation of their deeds through Flanders should produce.

Their commander would have been glad that his army had been diminished,

saying, that he would establish peace and justice every where, with but a fourth part of the present numbers. The troops, however, would not be separated, but declared they would remain together in brotherly love.

They wanted to march and post themselves between Bruges and Sluys, and take possession of the Franc according to the judgement of their prince, and, subject the inhabitants, for their outrages and misdeeds, to the obedience of the duke and the other three members of the states of Flanders, saving their lives and privileges.

The burghers of Bruges, they said, must submit themselves and supplicate their prince to receive them in mercy, and likewise put an end to all disputes between them and Sluys, so that passengers and merchants, might travel the country unmolested. Should those of Bruges refuse compliance, they would exert themselves to force them to obedience. This was told to the forty-two deputies sent by Bruges, from the different trades, to treat with the ghent army at Marien-

kirk. After some debating, these deputies agreed to the terms proposed, and on the 12th day of November drew up, and presented to the captain-general, the following articles of agreement.

'We, the burgomasters, sheriffs, principal burghers, deacons, corporators and commonalty of the town of Bruges, make known to all to whom these presents shall come, that we, from respect to our redoubted lord and prince, the duke of Burgundy, earl of Flanders, &c. and at the entreaty of the three departments of the town of Ghent, and of all the free towns within its jurisdictions, have consented, and by these presents do consent, for ourselves and successors, to keep firm and stable the judgment given by our said lord and his council, in his town of Ghent, the 11th day of February in the year 1436, constituting those of the Franc a fourth department of Ghent, without fraud, and according to the literal meaning of the said judgement. In testimony whereof, we have sealed these presents with the obligatory seal of our said town of Bruges.'

When the deputies was returned to Bruges with this treaty, the magistrates assembled the commonalty before the sheriff's court, and demanded if they were willing to ratify this treaty. There were present upwards of twenty thousand persons, who, after a moment's silence, unanimously replied, 'Yes.' Then stepped forth one called Coppin de Mesinacre, who had been lately banished Ghent for his misdeeds, and said, 'All goes wrong: how are ye such cowards as to fear the ghent men? You certainly ought to suffer for your folly and want of firmness.

In consequence of this speech the deacon of the artisans, a tailor, and some others, began to murmur, and to oppose the confirmation of the treaty, more especially to putting their assent on paper; and at last, by their tumultuous behaviour, the treaty was destroyed. Some time afterward by a legal sentence, the said Coppin, the deacon of the artisans, the tailor, and one other, were beheaded for this conduct: seventeen of their accomplices were also banished.

The negotiations for peace between Bruges and Ghent were put an end to, although seventeen hostages had been left with the army by the deputies from Bruges. The ghent men afterward set them at liberty without ransom, because they had assured them that they had done all in their power to get it ratified.

In this treaty it had been agreed, that the inhabitants of the Franc might take up their rights of burghership at Ghent or Bruges at their pleasure. The towns of Ghent and Ypres were to send ambassadors to the duke of Burgundy, to request that he would withdraw all foreign soldiers from Sluys, and order the stakes to be removed from the bed of the river Lieve, that vessels might freely pass and repass with merchandise, or permit them to take away these obstructions.

The army of Ghent now marched to fix its quarters at Ardembourg; and because Bruges persisted in refusing to ratify the treaty to which their deputies had agreed, and would not yield up their claims on the Franc, the duke's

ordinance of last year, forbidding all kinds of provision to be carried to Bruges, was again proclaimed in Ghent, and throughout its jurisdictions; and also, that all debts and effects belonging to those of Bruges should be delivered up to the magistrates.

It was afterward proclaimed that, should the men of Bruges attempt to make any inroads on the territories of Ghent, all the church and other alarm bells should be instantly rung to collect a force sufficient to oppose them. After this, Clarus Boye, a native of the town of Axel, William le Boquelaire, a patten maker, and from the country of Waast, and a man of Courtray, were beheaded, for having gone to Courtray at the instigation of the artisans and petty traders of Ghent,—and for having said that the ghent men were very desirous that those of Bruges would join them in arms for the common good and union of the country of Flanders, and to punish the inhabitants of Sluys.

The 16th day of November, the army resolved to send deputies to Ghent and to the towns within its jurisdictions,

to know how they would wish them to proceed,—and to inform them, that if they advised marching against Bruges, it would be necessary to send them reinforcements equal to the present state of the army.

The council at Ghent thought, that as provisions were now so dear, and winter at hand, it would be of more advantage not then to send any supplies, but disband the army; for the greater number were of the same opinion, and sought to diminish it.

The army, therefore, marched from Ardembourg to Ekeloo. While there, one of the private men of that castlewick having on his shoulders some stakes which he had taken from a hedge to dress his victuals, some ghent men would take them from him by force, when he defended himself and shouted out for aid to his countrymen,—and the ghent men shouted, 'Ghent!' both parties assembled with arms, and a grand battle would have taken place, had not Pierre Simon, sheriff of Ghent, by gentle words and with much courage, put an end to the

affray. He suffered a good deal by thus interfering, but was not seriously hurt from the goodness of his armour. Many were much wounded, which caused loud murmurings among the ghent men,—for one of them, a strong active boatman of Ghent, died of his wounds. Two, who had first struck the sheriff, were banished Ghent.

On the eve of St Andrew's day, the ghent army returned home: they had taken up arms inconsiderately, and were come back with little satisfaction. Those within their jurisdictions, who had marched against their inclinations, returned cheerfully home. Shortly after, their captain-general, Rasse Rouven, was deposed, and the six persons set at liberty, on promise made to the magistracy that they would answer any interrogations, and obey any sentences that might be passed on them, within three days after they should be summoned to appear.

In the month of December, proclamations were made throughout Flanders, by order of the prince, forbidding all persons to obey Rasse Rouven, for that he

had recalled his commission of captain general.

On the eve of Christmas-day, it was ordered, by the magistracy of Ghent in full assembly, that sir Roland de Hautekerque, sir Colart de Comines, Jean de la Damme, Gilles de la Voustine, Girard de Mal-digen, Jean de Papegen, Pierre Gougebur, Pierre Bris, Josse de Beys, Martin de Sinimes and Jean de Crique, who had been banished Ghent and Flanders, might return thither.

It was also agreed, that one Coppin Coppon, who had for five years past absented himself from Ghent, and had robbed so many passengers on the high roads in Flanders that travellers were afraid of him, might return.—Coppin, thinking that every thing was pardoned, did come back; but he was arrested and condemned to be beheaded, with two others who had committed robberies on two persons near to the town of Dendermonde.

CHAP. XV.

PEACE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY AND THE TOWN OF BRUGES.

WHILE these things were going on, the men of Bruges, perceiving that a longer resistance to their lord would be the ruin of themselves and their town, sought every means of concluding a treaty with him. At length they succeeded, and submitted themselves to the duke and his council, on terms concluded at Arras the 4th day of March, in the presence of their lord and his council, and numbers of other people, the principal articles of which were as follows.

It was, in the first place, ordered, that when the duke of Burgundy should first visit Bruges, twenty of the chief burghers and magistracy should come out of the town one league to meet him, bare-headed, bare-legged, and bare-footed. On their approach to him, they were to fall on their knees and beg his pardon, and entreat that he would be pleased to enter their town.

Item, that the gate of the Bouverie * should be converted into a chapel, wherein the seven masses should be daily celebrated.

Item, that henceforward, whenever the said lord and his successors, earls and countesses of Flanders, should come to Bruges, the burghers should meet them without the gates with the keys of the town, in perpetual remembrance of their obedience.

Item, every year, on the day of their misconduct toward their prince, there shall be celebrated a solemn mass in the church of St Donast by the dean and sub-dean, attended by twenty-four of the principal burghers, each holding in his hand a burning wax taper of the weight of one pound, and of the value of four groats.

Item, all property of bastards shall no longer be free, but confiscated to the duke on their deaths.

Item, a handsome cross shall be erected to commemorate their rebellion.

* Bouverie,—ox stables. It was here, probably, where the principal engagement took place between the duke's men and the burghers of Bruges.

Item, the burghers shall buy up and discharge all fee-farm rents from their said lord, due from the said demesnes.

Item, the burghers of Bruges shall have no further communication with those of Sluys; that is to say, those of Bruges, shall not make Sluys their principal quarters, nor join them in their disputes, nor in arms, nor have any connexions with Sluys but in respect to their commerce.

Item, in regard to the trades carried on at Sluys, which has been a matter of long quarrel between the towns of Ghent and Sluys, Bruges must no longer interfere.

Item the inhabitants of Bruges shall not be permitted to raise an army, on pain of forfeiting their lives and fortunes.

Item, whoever shall stop the workmen from continuing their trades, when a riot may happen, shall incur similar penalties as in the foregoing article.

Item, the persons of some of the burghers are to be reserved for the will of the duke of Burgundy, as well as those who may have become burghers during these dissentions.

Item, the town of Bruges shall pay to their said lord two hundred thousand golden riddes*.

Item, the magistracy of Bruges, and others hereafter to be named, shall, within eight days, go out of the town to meet some deputies sent thither by the said duke of Burgundy, and shall receive them with due obedience.

Item, no foreigner shall be admitted henceforth a burgher of Bruges, unless he shall have remained therein the space of one hundred and twenty days.

Item, it was ordered, that the son of the lord de l'Isle-Adam should receive for the death of his father ten thousand crowns, with other honourable recompenses. In like manner shall the wife and children of the blacksmith, who had given the hammers to open the gate, receive a fine for his death, he having been put to death for so doing.

There were many other fines and reparations contained in this treaty,

* Ridde,—a flemish coin, worth about five shillings sterling.

but, for the sake of brevity, I pass them over.

This treaty was read at the hôtel of their prince at Arras, in the presence of the four-and-twenty deputies from Bruges, on their knees, who suffered much from the length of it, so that the duke, taking pity on them, caused them to be seated to be more at their ease. When all had been completed, the deputies returned to their town carrying a copy of the treaty, which they read to the inhabitants assembled; and, from their anxiety to have peace with their lord, the terms were agreeable to the greater part of them.

Some persons of low estate, who had ruled the town during these dissensions, were displeased and would willingly, by seditious speeches, and other means have made the commonalty rise against those of the upper ranks,—but their attempts were vain. They were afraid, should peace be effected, that they would be punished for their demerits, and their fears were realized; for, within a few days after, ten or twelve of the principal

ringleaders of the rebellion were arrested and beheaded: several were banished, and some fled of their own accord.

These acts of justice were done on the arrival of the heir of Cleves, nephew to the duke of Burgundy, who had been sent thither by the duke, accompanied by some of his council, to receive the fines, and see that all the articles of the treaty at Arras were fulfilled. A little before this, the town of Bruges had sent back to the duke at Arras sixty-three of his men, who had been made prisoners when he was driven out of that town, each of them clothed in a green robe at the expense of the town of Bruges.

CHAP. XVI.

WAR RECOMMENCES BETWEEN THE DUCHY OF BAR AND THE COUNTY OF VAUDEMONT.

In this year a violent war again took place between the duchy of Bar and

the county of Vaudemont, principally caused by sir John de Hossonville hereditary seneschal of Lorraine, attempting to take the town of Vaudemont*, for some complaints he pretended to have against it; and failing in his attempt, he had since made open war on that country, and had set several villages on fire.

This intelligence coming to the count de Vaudemont, who was at Genouillé, he hastily mounted his horse, accompanied by Forte-Espice and about a hundred combatants, and pursued his enemies with such speed that he overtook them on the borders of his county. He attacked them so courageously that, although they were full three hundred, he he put them to the route. Forty were slain, and as many made prisoners: the rest saved themselves by flight. Their standard was won, and carried to the church of Veselize†.

* Vaudemont,—six leagues from Toul, seven from Nancy, three from Mirecour.

† Veselize,—five leagues S. E. from Toul, two N. from Vaudemont.

Open war was now carried on by both parties, and the men at arms of the count made inroads on the lands of the enemy. In one of them, they were met by sir Gerard du Chastellier, and defeated and carried prisoners to Mirecour, a good town belonging to the duke of Lorraine. The count de Vaudemont, some little time after, gained this town of Mirecour by the aid of Floquet and Forte-Espice, when he recovered his men that had been made prisoners, and appointed Floquet governor of it: but he soon after restored it to the Lorrainers, and also turned against the count de Vaudemont at the solicitations of La Hire.

On the other hand, Blanchefort, Anthony de Chabannes, Chappelle, Gautier le Breton, Mathelin, and other captains, with their men, made war on the Lorrainers and Barrois, for the count de Vaudemont, who had given up to them Veselize and others of his places. When they had completely spoiled the country they changed sides, under pretence of an order they had received to depart thence and serve the enemies of the count;

which order they showed to sir Hector de Flavy, governor of the county of Vaudemont. They soon after yielded up Veselize to the Lorrainers, who totally destroyed it; and after committing every waste in the countries of each party, these French, commonly called Skinners, marched away toward Germany, but not before they had received great sums of money from the duchies of Bar and Lorraine. They also carried with them hostages for the due payment of the balances left behind,—and the son of sir Gerard du Chastillier was among these hostages.

At this time, the king of Sicily sent his son, the marquis du Pont, nine years old, to reside in the duchy of Bar: and the bishop of Toul and sir Gerard du Chastellier governed the country in his name.

A little before this, one called Watelin Tieulier made war on the count de Vaudemont, and had fixed his retreat in a strong castle of his father-in-law, the lord de Hartuel, who supported him. He had done much mischief by fire and sword

to the vassals of the count, who in revenge, accompanied by his nephew the count de Blamont, the lord de Commerci, Forte-Espice, and about four hundred combatants, marched against this castle, took it by storm, and the knight within it. The Lorrainers were seen instantly after advancing with a strong army, to assist the knight; but finding that the place was taken, and the enemies on the ramparts, they retreated, and increased their army, in order to lay siege to Monstier sur Saxe*; but sir Hector de Flavy had burnt the town which they intended to take and lodge in: they were, therefore, obliged to return whence they had come. Thus did these two parties mutually destroy each other.

* Monstier sur Saxe,—six leagues from Bar-le-duc.

[A. D. 1438.]

CHAP. LXXIX.

FAMINE, WAR, AND PESTILENCE, RAGE IN MANY PLACES.

At the beginning of this year, the famine, which had long afflicted many parts, was much increased; and it was pitiful to see the multitudes of poor who died daily from want. There were also epidemic distempers in various parts of France, and in Flanders,—but the towns of Bruges and Paris suffered more from them than any other. War was likewise carried on with great bitterness in many places. From these three plagues many of the nobles, and common people were great sufferers. and in doleful perplexity. In the mean time, that body of French called Skinners remained in large parties on the borders of Burgundy, where they committed unnumbered mischiefs, by taking castles and prisoners, killing men, and ravishing women, noble or not, and acting as if they were in a country conquered from an enemy.

The duke of Burgundy was exceedingly angry when these things came to his knowledge, as well from his love to his vassals as from the time that they had chosen for these misdeeds, when his country was afflicted with famine and mortality.

CHAP. XVIII.

LORD TALBOT, SIR THOMAS KIRIEL, AND OTHER ENGLISH CAPTAINS, CONQUER LONGUEVILLE, AND MANY MORE CASTLES, FROM THE FRENCH.

In the month of May of this year, the lord Talbot, sir Thomas Kiriel, with other english captains, took the field with about eight hundred combatants, and marched to the castle of Longueville, in the possession of a party of La Hire's men; for of this castle and domain he called himself lord, in consequence of a gift made to him of it by king Charles, in the same manner, and on the same terms that Bertrand du Guesclin, that

valiant warrior, formerly constable of France, had held it.

The besieged did not long hold out, on seeing the English before it, but surrendered on having their lives and fortunes spared, and with permission to march away in safety. They went to Beauvais; and the English, having well garrisoned it, marched to Charlès-Mesnil, a very handsome castle, situated very near to Dieppe, and belonging to the lord de Torci, which also surrendered. In like manner, they won Guellemcourt and some other places which the French held in the country of Caux. The reason why these castles so soon surrendered was their great want of provision, military stores and artillery.

CHAP. XIX.

A TREATY OF MARRIAGE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE ELDEST SON TO THE KING OF NAVARRE AND THE PRINCESS OF CLEVES, NIECE TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

About this time there came to the town of Douay about four-and-twenty horsemen as ambassadors from the king of Navarre, to treat with the duke of Burgundy of a marriage between the princess of Cleves, niece to the duke, and the hereditary prince of Navarre.

The principal ambassadors were the prior of Roncesvalles, a noble knight, and other gentlemen, attended by the king at arms of Navarre. This business lasted some time, but it was at last concluded,—and the duke gave his consent. The princess was then sent away, honourably escorted by her eldest brother to the kingdom of Navarre.

CHAP. XX.

THE TOWNS AND CASTLES OF MONTARGIS AND CHEVREUSE SUBMIT TO THE OBEDIENCE OF KING CHARLES OF FRANCE.

WHILE these things were passing, the towns and castles of Montargis and Chevreuse, held by the English, submitted to king Charles. On the other hand, the garrisons of Meaux in Brie, of Creil, Pontois and Gisors, greatly harrassed the country of France, more particularly parts of Santois, Vermandois, Amiennois, Beauvoisis, and other dependances. In like manner, those garrisons which had been posted against the English did great damages, so that the poor people were every way grievously vexed and worn down.

In regard to sir John de Luxembourg, he kept neuter, and joined neither party,—but filled his towns and strong places with men, artillery and provisions, to defend himself against such as should attempt to injure his country.

He had been several times admo-

nished and summoned to take the oaths to king Charles of France, but had never complied, and was waiting the issue of events, to see what might happen. He was in the possession of sealed engagements from the king of England, the duke of York, and several english lords, promising him, on their faith and honour, that should the French attempt to make war upon him, they would come to his relief with so powerful a force that he should be delivered from his enemies, notwithstanding any other business they should have in hand, the which should be laid aside. Sir John de Luxembourg put great faith in these promises.

CHAP. XXI.

A QUARREL ARISES BETWEEN POPE EUGENIUS AND THE COUNCIL OF BASIL.—OTHER MATTERS.

In this year, ambassadors were sent to the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and other princes of the blood

royal, from our holy father pope Eugenius and from the council at Basil, who were quarrelling with each other. Each ambassador, when discoursing on the subjects in dispute before the king, most grossly abused his adverse party.

This dissention lasted a considerable time; but the king inclined more to the council of Basil, while the duke of Burgundy strongly supported the cause of the pope, as did also the king of England.

The duke of Burgundy at this time sent a solemn embassy to the pope, consisting of master Quentin Mayart, provost of St Omer, the prior of Lihons in Santerre, sir Simon de Lalain, Guillaume le Jeune, brother to the cardinal of Therouenne, with other noble personages. They were most graciously received by the holy father, and obtained the greater part of the object of their mission.

In these days, the lord de Crevecœur, a wise and prudent person, was sent by the duke of Burgundy to the french court, to treat on divers matters, and, among others, to negotiate a mar-

riage between his only son, the count de Charolois, and the second daughter of the king of France. This lord was joyfully received as well by the king as by the queen; and because the princess he was come to demand in marriage was lately dead, the duke sent him orders to ask for the eldest princess, Catherine, which he did,—and his request was granted. Before the return of the lord de Crevecœur to Flanders, the dispute between the bishops of Tournay, namely, Jean de Harcourt, and master Jean de Chevrot, was settled by the king: so Chevrot remained bishop of Tournay, and Harcourt was archbishop of Narbonne. When all matters had been concluded, the lord de Crevecœur returned to the duke of Burgundy, who received him most graciously and honourably.

About this time, a knight attached to the household of the duke of Burgundy, having had the duke's licence, set out on his return to his own country of Savoy, and took the road to Guise, to visit sir John de Luxembourg, in

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whose good graces he was, and who feasted him nobly at his hôtel. On his departure, he was met on the road by some marauders, pretending to belong to sir John de Luxembourg, (among whom was one called Garmonset), who arrested and led him to the English at Meaux in Brie, and thence to Rouen, where he was some time confined as a prisoner. He died there from illness contracted, as was said, from vexation and anger at the treatment he had suffered.

The duke of Burgundy was much dissatisfied at this capture, and wrote sharp letters on this and other subjects to sir John de Luxembourg; but sir John clearly and frankly exculpated himself from this charge,—and it may be supposed that he was no way implicated in this capture, for he had executed several who had been concerned therein, and had also exerted himself as much as he could, through the means of his brother the cardinal of Rouen, to obtain the liberty of this knight, called sir Philibert de Savoye, from the hands of the English.

CHAP. XXII.

THE COUNT D'EU, WHO HAD BEEN PRISONER IN ENGLAND SINCE THE BATTLE OF AZINCOURT, OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY, AND RETURNS TO FRANCE.—HE RAISES LARGE ARMIES.

In this same year, the count d'Eu, who had been prisoner in England since the year 1415, returned in liberty to France. He had been taken at the battle of Azincourt, and was exchanged for the earl of Somerset, whom the duke of Bourbon brother to the count d'Eu, held prisoner, having bought him, or rather the duchess his mother having purchased him, from those who had captured him at the battle of Blangy, where the duke of Clarence was slain, as has been before fully related.

King Charles of France, the duke of Bourbon, and all the nobility, were greatly rejoiced at the return of the count d'Eu; and, shortly after his arrival, he was appointed by the king governor of

Normandy, from the river Seine to Abbeville and as far as the river Somme.

He, in consequence, assembled a body of men at arms, and went to take possession of the town of Harfleur, where he was received by the lord de Rieux, marshal of France, and those of his party; but others disputed his authority, and withdrew into the towers, and fortified one of the gates, to the great displeasure of the count d'Eu, who instantly attacked them with such vigour that those in the gate surrendered to him. The others, who had taken possession of the towers, sent to Rouen for assistance from the English; but, in a short time, they made secret arrangements with the count,—so that when the English advanced to their support, conformably to their own request, they were deceived, and about thirty made prisoners: the rest, being aware of their treachery, returned back to Rouen very much vexed.

After the count d'Eu had subjected Harfleur, and other places in the country of Caux, to his will, and strongly garrisoned them, he departed for Brussels, to

visit his brother-in-law the duke of Burgundy, who feasted him grandly, and presented him with very rich gifts. On leaving the duke, he went by short days journeys to Noyon, where he was congratulated on his liberty by the inhabitants. They made heavy complaints to him of certain pillagers that held some castles in their neighbourhood, and who daily committed on them great damages, advancing even to their gates, seizing and carrying away all they could lay hands on, calling themselves at one time partisans of the king of France; at others, of sir John de Luxembourg.

In the number, was one named Jean de L'Isle, who, with his brother, had under their command more than thirty companions, and had taken possession of an old castle called Bretigny, which they had repaired and fortified, with the intent of waging war against the whole country. Part of them wore the red cross, pretending to be English.

The count d'Eu, on hearing this, collected a number of men at arms to provide a remedy for it, and ordered

thither the count d'Estampes, his nephew, with a party of his men. They marched to the castle of Bretigny, the fortifications of which were imcomplete; and it was likewise badly provided with stores, artillery and provision; so that it was very soon forced to surrender to the will of the count d'Eu. He sent Jean de l'Isle and his brother to Noyon, where they were soon after beheaded, and about twenty of the others were hanged.

For these executions, sir John de Luxembourg conceived a great hatred to the count d'Eu, and to those who had been parties in the expedition. A few days afterward, in consequence thereof, while the count d'Eu was at Chargny-sur-Oise, sir John ordered an ambuscade to be formed on the road leading thence to Noyon, to attack the count on his return thither; but he, having received information of the plan, took another road, so that the ambuscade failed of the intended effect: a violent quarrel, however, ensued ever after between them.

CHAP. XXIII.

LA HIRE, BLANCHEFORT, AND OTHERS OF KING CHARLES'S CAPTAINS MAKE EXCURSIONS INTO GERMANY.

At this same period, several of king Charles's captains, such as La Hire, Blanchefort, Boussac, Anthony de Chabannes, Chappelle, Pierre Regnault, and others, to the amount of six thousand horse, marched from the frontiers of Bar and Lorraine toward Germany, and even advanced as far as the city of Basil, wherein the council was sitting. They gave it to be understood by some, that they were sent thither with the consent of pope Eugenius, in defence of his rights, and to lay waste the country with fire and sword.

They then directed their march to the country of Aussois*, and toward

* The country of Aussois is comprehended in the duchy of Burgundy.—See Martiniere's Geographical Dictionary.

Franckfort, taking and ransoming many small castles and large monasteries. While they were thus employed in wasting the country, the Germans assembled in great bodies to oppose and repulse them. They first ordered the farmers and peasants to retire into the strong castles and great towns with their corn and provisions,—and then made war on the French whenever they could do it advantageously, or when they went out to forage in small parties. In this manner they destroyed numbers, and always refused to accept a challenge for a general battle, although required by the French to name a day for a combat.

The French, therefore, seeing their numbers daily lessened, while the enemy were increasing, retreated from Germany toward Burgundy, doing great mischiefs, wherever they passed, and thence went into the Nivernois. Continuing their wicked conduct in those parts, they retreated, after a short stay, into Auvergne.

Their army was now increased by evil-disposed persons, and vagabonds, to the amount of ten thousand men: and they spared no person noble or not, nor any

towns, although dependant on the king of France, or on the princes of his blood and alliance,—all were equally despoiled. No remedy could be applied to these evils, on account of their great numbers,—and they were called in all countries through which they passed, 'Skinners,' as has been before mentioned. The whole kingdom suffered intolerable hardships by this army, in addition to famine and pestilence.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES RECOVERS THE CASTLE OF ROULLET FROM THE MEN OF THE LORD DE MOY.—OTHER MATTERS.

Prior to this melancholy famine, the men of the lord de Moy, in the Beauvoisis, gained the castle of Roullet (two leagues distant from Mondidier) from those of Guy de Roye, who had the guard of it, and made war against Mondidier and the country around.

As this district was within the government of the count d'Estampes, and under his charge, he detached a body

of men under the command of some of his captains—namely, Waleran de Moreul, Guy de Roye, and others—against this castle of Roullet, who attacked it so sharply that it was surrendered unconditionally to the will of the count d'Estampes, who hanged from twenty to thirty of the garrison, and again placed it under the guard of Guy de Roye.

The lord de Moy, who was governor of Clermont, from vexation at this loss, carryed on a severer war than before on Mondidier, which made it necessary to post garrisons of men at arms in all the towns and castles round to oppose it. Thus did the country suffer greater hardships from both parties than before peace was concluded, as each destroyed it at their pleasure.

In another quarter, the English won the castles of St Germain en Laye and Gerberoy by storm, and strongly garrisoned them, to the great annoyance of the Parisians.

At this time, a shocking and unheard of crime was detected at a village near Abbeville. A woman was arrested on the

charge of having murdered several children, of cutting them in pieces, and of having kept them when salted in her house. She was accused of this crime by some robbers, who, having entered her house by night, had discovered parts of the bodies of these children. She confessed herself guilty, and was publicly burnt at Abbeville, according to the sentence of the law.

Great quarrels and dissensions now arose between those of Brussels and the towns of Lovain, Mechlin, and other places in Brabant, for having constrained all the farmers within the district of Antwerp to carry to them their corn, in prejudice to the inhabitants of Brussels; which caused a war against Mechlin, — and this last town closed the passage of the river with chains, so that no boats could go to Brussels. They met in arms, and very many were slain and wounded on each side; but the duke of Burgundy and his council found means to appease these discords.

CHAP. XXV.

A MEETING IS HELD BETWEEN CALAIS AND GRAVELINES BETWEEN THE CARDINAL OF ENGLAND AND THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY, TO DELIBERATE ON THE MEANS OF ESTABLISHING A LASTING PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

About the month of January in this year, the cardinal of England and the duchess of Burgundy met at a place agreed on between them, half way from Calais to Gravelines, to consider on the means of establishing a firm peace between England and France. Tents had been pitched for their meeting; and each party was grandly accompanied by nobles, as well ecclesiastical as secular.

The ambassadors from the king of France were a master of the household named sir Regnault Girard, knight and lord of Bazoches, and master Robert Mallien, councellor and master of accounts, to give their advice and aid toward the

conclusion of a general peace, and also to treat of the ransom and deliverance of Charles duke of Orleans from his imprisonment in England.

Many proposals were offered on different days, but no conclusion was made, except to adjourn, to inform the respective kings of France and England of these proposals, and hold another meeting when they should have been fully discussed.

The time and place for another meeting was to be communicated to the duchess of Burgundy, that she might make it known to each party; and it was agreed that, at that time, the duke of Orleans should be conducted either to Calais or to Cherbourg, as the two parties should fix. When these matters had been settled, they all separated, and returned to the places they had come from.

In this year, the duke of Burgundy assembled about sixteen hundred combatants, whom he marched toward Calais, to cover and defend against the English a very great number of pioneers, carpenters and labourers, who had been sent thither to break down and destroy a sea-dyke, in

order to drown the town of Calais and the surrounding country. The duke had been made to believe that this was possible to be done, and the town destroyed; but when the pioneers had worked a short space of time, they found that it was a work not easily accomplished, the enterprise was therefore abandoned; but they broke down the bridge of Nieulay, and some small dykes, which did very little harm to the English.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE KING OF FRANCE COMPELS RODERIGO DE VILLANDRAS, WHO WAS COMMITTING GREAT WASTE ON HIS TERRITORIES, TO MARCH AWAY AND MAKE WAR ON THE ENGLISH.

KING Charles of France, in the course of this year, learnt that many of his captains were grievously harrassing divers parts of his kingdom, and that they kept large bodies of armed men under their command to overrun the provinces. The

principal among them was Roderigo de Villandras, who had upwards of six hundred horse under his orders.

The king sent him his commands to quit his territories immediately, and to make war on those of the English, but he refused obedience to them. On this, the king, who was at Bourges in Berry, assembled an army to march against him in person, and force him to obey him; but Roderigo, having had information of the king's intentions, retreated toward Toulouse, and thence advanced into Guienne, where in conjunction with some of that country, he again collected a considerable force.

He carried on a severe warfare against the English, to their great loss, and won from them many towns and castles, which he garrisoned with his own men. He entered Medoc, and advanced as far as Soulac *, destroying the country, which he found very rich in all sorts of commodities. In like manner

* Soulac,—a small town near Bourdeaux.

he conquered the territory of Blanchefort, and came to a fort called Châtel-neuf, belonging to the Captal de Buch, which he took by storm.

He was soon after joined by the lord d'Albreth with a strong power of men at arms, when they advanced nearer Bourdeaux, and took the church of St Severin, which is but a bow-shot distant from that city. There they quartered themselves, and in the course of the night placed a strong ambuscade among the vineyards close to the town—for the vines there are as high as an arbour—and on the morrow pretended to decamp. The Bourdelois, seeing this, sallied out in great numbers, to the amount of full two thousand, and were surprised by those in ambush, when a sharp conflict took place, which lasted a long time, for it was desperately contested by each party; but the French were superior in numbers,—and the English were forced to retire into Bourdeaux, after leaving about eight hundred dead on the field.

Large detachments of men at arms were now posted round Bourdeaux, who

destroyed, without opposition, that part of the country, which was abundant in all things,—for until then, it had been a long time without suffering the miseries of war.

In consideration of these valuable services, and for his courageous actions, the king of France pardoned Roderigo de Villandras all the offences and evil deeds he had done against him. However, in the course of a year, the English reconquered the greater part of these places that had been won from them.

[A. D. 1439]

CHAP. XXVII.

POPE EUGENIUS SENDS BULLS TO DIVERS PARTS OF EUROPE.—THEIR TENOUR.

At the commencement of this year, pope Eugenius published bulls against the members of the council at Basil, the tenour of which was as follows.

'Eugenius bishop, and servant of the servants of God. Every example

from the Old and New Teataments admonishes us not to pass over in silence, or to leave unpunished, crimes and misdemeanours,—more especially such as may bring on slander against, or cause a division among, the people committed to our charge. Should we delay pursuing and avenging those faults which have given just offence to God, we should most certainly provoke the divine Wisdom to anger; for the delay of pursuing crimes deserving punishment, according to the judgements of the holy fathers of the church, would be sinful. Those also who contemn the divine commands, and are disobedient to paternal ordinances according to our holy institutions, deserve the severest chastisements, to make others ashamed of similar conduct, that fraternal concord may rejoice, and all take warning from such examples.

'Should we be remiss in our vigour or solicitude for the welfare of the church, its discipline would perish through our indolence, which would be of the greatest injury to all good and true Christians. To cut off, therefore, the unsound flesh

from the sound,—to separate the scabby sheep from the rest, that the whole flock be not infected, is a duty imposed upon us; for as that glorious doctor St Jerome says, 'Arius, when at Alexandria, was but a spark of fire,—but, from not being instantly extinguished, the flame was increased, and spread throughout Christendom.'

'It was for this cause that our Saviour gave to the bishop of Rome the keys, to bind and unbind such as wandered from the ways of truth, that they may be constrained to return by the bonds of correction and obligation. We may say, therefore, of the apostolical authority, that when in the judgement of the church, it has consigned those over to Satan who have led others into error, it has exerted its power for the salvation of their souls, and to teach others not to blaspheme.

'The blessed pope Sixtus says, 'We keep in our remembrance that we govern under the name of that church in which our greatest pleasure is to glorify our dear Saviour JESUS CHRIST, whose faith nourishes not heresy but totally

destroys it. For this reason, we hold it unlawful to exert our powers, except when the interest of the whole church shall call for it. "

'In truth, during the latter days, our very beloved sons master Hutin de la Plante, doctor of laws, master John de Plato, doctor of laws, and master Venture du Chastel, licentiate,—all of them presidents at the congregation of the general council of the holy church, the second enjoying the office of proctor, and the last procurator of the said council,—have exposed before us the account of the lamentable quarrels that have taken place in the said council, in these words: 'Most holy and reverend father, although this sacred and œcumenical general council has been legally assembled for the preservation of the peace of the catholic and apostolical roman church, which the blessed Holy Spirit, under the person of our Lord, in the book of Canticles, plainly points out, by saying, 'My dove, my undefiled, is but one: she is the only one of her mother: she is the choice one of her that bare her.'

'St Paul demonstrates the union of the church, and the sacredness of this union, by calling it the body, soul, and hope, of our vocation: one Lord, one faith, one baptism,—by baptism, one God; and as the blessed St Cyprian says, she is the head, a fruitful mother, and, as spouse to JESUS CHRIST, as pure and unadulterated, chaste and holy. The same Cyprian declares, in another place, that there is no ecclesiastical ordinance that does not maintain the unity of the Christian church. Pope Pelagius affirms the same from the words of the blessed St Austin a celebrated doctor in the church, and that it has an apostolical throne, irradiated by a succession of bishops.

'Nevertheless, from the commencement of this church, the wickedness and wanton conduct of mankind have ever sought to deny and destroy the peace thereof,—against which wickedness, according to the authority of the holy fathers, divine vengeance has been excited. Whoever therefore shall dare sacrilegiously, and with diabolical intention, to deny this spotless unity, the sacred canon points him out as an enemy to the church,

and declares that he cannot have God for his father, unless he hold the unity of the universal church; for, since CHRIST died for the church, the church is the body of CHRIST—there can therefore be no doubt but that he who divides the church is guilty of dividing and tearing asunder the body of JESUS CHRIST.

'When Dathan and Abiran formed a schism against the honour of God, Divine vengeance caused the earth to open and swallow them,—and their adherents perished by fire from heaven. The more inseparable the holy sacrament is with the union of the church, the greater guilt do they incur who attempt to divide them,—and who, leaving the legal spouse of the church choose to follow a false doctrine.

'Examples of similar wickedness, and the punishments that ensued, are displayed in the book of Kings; for when the Jews made a distinction between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and the other ten tribes, and, laying aside their lawful king, elected another, the lord was indignant against the seed

of Israel, and held them in derision: he also turned away his face from them.

'The anger of God is always excited against such as create schisms and division. When the prophet was sent to Jeroboam to reproach him for his sins, and to foretel to him the vengeance that God would take on him and on his race, God forbade him to taste meat or drink with Jeroboam. The prophet however, disobeyed the commandment, and in consequence, on his return was attacked by a lion, who slew him on the road. From these instances, as St Jerome says, no one can doubt but that the crime of schism will be severely punished by God.

'For some time past, and since the holy general council at Constance, this pernicious schism has laboured to afflict the church of God, and the Christian religion, not only in regard to individuals, but whole cities and provinces have suffered persecution for a length of time, to the ruin of their souls; but at last, through the ineffable mercy of God, and by the labours of many kings

and princes, as well secular as ecclesiastic, and of many universities and other loyal Christians, this abominable schism was put an end to.

'The church was then believed to enjoy that perfect peace which every one desired, as well by the election of the late well beloved pope Martin as after his decease by the undoubtedly canonical and legal choice of your holiness to the apostolical throne. But we are now constrained to exclaim with the prophet Jeremiah, 'We have looked for peace, but behold tribulation!' and also with Isaiah, 'We have looked for light, and behold darkness!' for several children of perdition, few in number, and of little authority in the council of Basil, have done their utmost, by force and deceit, to put end to these flattering hopes.

'This council had been transferred from Basil to Florence*, in the laudable

* This council, the eighteenth general council was first held at Basil, and, after many quarrels had arisen between it and the pope, he transferred it first to Ferrara, and thence to Florence, for the better accommodation of the Greeks. Many of the

expectation, (so much wished for by every sect of Christians) of the union of the eastern and western churches and went on, for some time, through your authority, with vigour.

'When those before mentioned, who had remained at Basil, had failed in their promises to the Greeks, and perceived from the leaders of the oriental church, that the most noble prince and emperor, John Paleologus, together with Joseph, of happy memory, patriarch of Constantinople, and numbers of prelates and dignitaries of the eastern church were about to attend the œcumenical council at the place appointed by your holiness, and that you, with a multitude of prelates and churchmen, were already gone thither at great expense,—in order to prevent the emperor from meeting you at this council, these aforesaid persons published a detestable monitory against

members of the council, however, remained at Basil, deposed pope Engenius, and elected Amadeus duke of Savoy pope, under the name of Felix V.

See Hist. des Conciles, L'Art de Verifier les Dates, &c. &c.

your holiness and against our reverend lords the cardinals of Rome.

'This not having the desired effect of putting an end to the intentions of the emperor to come to Florence, they published a suspension of your holiness from the functions of the papacy. Notwithstanding these iniquitous and sacrilegious proceedings, by your labour and care, together with the energy of the council, and by divers arguments and disputations, every attempt was made to remove this schism between the eastern and western churches, which had lasted five hundred years.

'At the head of these disturbers of the union of the church was that most disloyal and diabolical Amadeus, late duke of Savoy, who had long before premeditated what he executed, through the instigation of several accursed men and women, who, laying aside all religion, have been converted to Satan by the wicked delusions of devils, who, in common language, are called Sorceresses Frangules, Straganes, or Vaudoyses, of whom there are numbers in this country.

'By such means, he has for a long time been seduced from the right faith; and in order that he might be elected as the monstrous and deformed head of God's church, he put on the frock of a hermit, *aux avichoix**, of a most false hypocrite, that under cover of sheep's cloathing, he might indulge his wolfish appetite, confident that, in process of time, his adherents in the council of Basil (many of whom were his subjects, and the idols of this new Beelzebub) would constitute and elect him pope in opposition

* *Aux avichoix.* Denys Sauvage, in his annotations seems as much puzzled about this word as I have been. He says, that, 'avichoix' may perhaps mean advice or counsel,—and adds that the whole of this bull is full of faults, from his not having a latin one to correct it by.

I have endeavoured to find it in Dumont's Corps Universel Diplomatique. There is in that collection a bull of pope Engenius, dated Florence, November 1439, condemning the acts of the council at Basil toward the pope. It is indeed a decree of the council of Florence; but it has not any resemblance to this bull, for it was issued to annul the celebrated decree of the council of Basil, declaring the powers of a general council superior to those of the pope.

to your holiness, the undoubtedly-true vicar of God and legal successor to St Peter, to the profanation and pollution of the Christian church.

'An unbounded ambition has induced the execrable Amadeus to undertake this diabolical project, which, according, to the apostle, is the servitude of devils; and by the advice of a blasphemous synagogue of abandoned men, the stinking abomination of all Christendom, who have deputed for electors certain men, or rather devils disguised under the figures of men, who (like the idol of Nebuchadnezzar) elevated themselves in the true church of God.

''This Amadeus, in consequence of his profane election, which he gained by means suited to his vast ambition, felt no remorse, or horror, in clothing himself with a papal vesture, and in exercising the powers of a roman pontiff, causing himself to be reverenced as such.

'He has neither been ashamed nor afraid to send his bulls sealed, to divers parts of the world, in which he styles himself Pope Felix V. proclaiming him-

self thus the most wretched man on earth, and endeavouring to scatter abroad the poison of his pestilent mind.

'Now most holy father, and most sacred council, what should we first seek or demand, or by what tears and groans may we deplore such an unfortunate event, and wipe away the horrid disgrace that must ensue from it to the church? for the greatness of the offence is more than language can express. But we know, most holy and sacred father, that no delay must arise to provide a remedy against the complainings of our dear mother the church, your legal spouse, who, having enjoyed a short peace is again constrained to cry out and lament the loss of it, to the reverend members of this council, saying,—'Have mercy on me, each of you, my friends: my bowels are filled with bitterness, for lions destroy the vineyard of the God of sabaoth,—and the church, the unsullied robe of JESUS CHRIST, is rent asunder by the wicked. Let God now arise and destroy his enemies.' And thou, holy father, as these things are manifest, and so notorious that

they can no longer be concealed, exert thyself in conjunction with this council: judge the cause of thy spouse,—and have in remembrance the reproach cast on thy children.

'O, most powerful, gird the sword on thy thigh, and verify the words of the Psalmist: 'I will pursue mine enemies, to destroy them, and will not return until I shall have laid them all under my footstool, that they no more disturb my peace.' Such transgressions ought to be punished with the utmost severity to prevent any from imitating them in future.

'The words of Moses, the friend and servant of God, should be repeated to the people of Christendom: 'Depart, all of you, from the tabernacles and towns of the wicked.' Attend to the example of thy blessed predecessor, who according to a general council of the church at Ephesus, condemned Dioscorus and his followers to banishment in Calcedonia*.

* This was not a general council. It was held at Ephesus in the year 449. The reigning pope was St Léon.——See L'Art de Verifier les Dates.

'Follow the examples of the holy bishops who have preceded thee on the sacred throne, who have ever exterminated the enemies of God and of his church, from the communion of devout and loyal Christians, and punished them likewise according to their deserts. Avenge, therefore, this new schism that has arisen to thy personal wrong and to that of the roman church, as well as to the slander of all Christendom, and call to thy aid the powers of this holy œcumenical council to excommunicate from the pale of the church, by the authority of GOD, and of St Peter and of St Paul, all the wicked aforesaid, and more especially that grand heresiarch Amadeus, this new antichrist in the church of God, together with all their abettors, and those who have so daringly and illegally taken upon themselves the part of electors. Let them be cast out as the antichrist, and invaders and destroyers of all Christendom, and never on any account, admit them to thy presence. Let them and their heirs be deprived of all ecclesiastical and worldly dignities, and be condemned to a per-

petual sentence of excommunication. Let them be confounded with the wicked, and feel the indignation of the blessed apostles St Peter and St Paul, whose church they presume to disturb. May their habitations become a desart and may no one inhabit their tabernacles! May their children become orphans, and their wives widows, and their existence become so heavy, through misery, that death may be looked to for relief from a life of torment! May all hands be raised against them, and the elements oppose them, and public vengeance be poured on them; and, like Coran, Dathan and Abiran, may the earth open and swallow them up alive! In short, should they not speedily turn from their wickedness, and sufficiently and satisfactorily expiate their sins against the holy and universal church, may they be condemned by the just judgment of God to infernal darkness and perpetual torments!

'We and all true Christians having in abomination such heresies, detest this accursed heresiarch and such like antichrists; and thou vicar and lieutenant

of JESUS CHRIST and of his holy church, (whom we confess, and with devout reverence obey) may the grace of God, all-powerful, protect thee always, and, through his eternal mercy, lead thee to joys everlasting! Amen."

'We, therefore, having had the fullest and most authentic accounts of the great impiety which has been committed, are much grieved thereat, as may readily be supposed, from the enormity of the offence, and more particularly in regard to Amadeus the antipope, whom we have ever held in the most affectionate love and charity, attending to all his prayers and requests; but, at the same time, we are determined to exert our powers to resist such heresies, according to the duties of our pastoral office.

'Since therefore, we have been so publicly called upon in the face of the church, we shall lose no time, with the help of God to crush these heresies in the bud, lest they may expand to greater lengths; and with the aid of this holy council, we will propose remedies accord-

ing to the ordinances of the church. In consequence of what has been said and requested by the proctor and procurator of the holy council, we will examine whether it is consonant to divine and human laws, and agreeable to the decrees of our apostolical chamber; and although the truth of the charges be sufficiently notorious, yet for greater caution, and with the approbation of the holy council, we have commissioned divers intelligent persons to inquire into all these matters, and to report the result of their inquiries, without favour or affection to either party, to us and to the holy council.

'These commissioners having made a diligent inquisition into what regarded the schism and the division between us and the council of Basil, reported the same most faithfully to the council assembled in congregation synodal,—and the facts were by them made so clear and public that we might without fearing the scandal of wicked tongues, have condemned those sinful men according to the ordinances of the church; but the synod in imitation of the divine mercy

which wishes not for the death of a sinner, but would rather that he repent and live, have determined to resort to the means of conciliation, that they may have time to leave their wicked ways, and if they return to the bosom of the church, we shall receive them like to the prodigal son, and with paternal charity embrace them.

'Let therefore, the antipope, Amadeus, and his adherents, renounce their errors, and we will receive them through the mercy of our God, who has shed his blood for the redemption of sinners and the edification of his church, with our whole heart; and so soon as they shall desist from their wicked and scandalous excesses, they will be accepted of us and this sacred council with paternal affection, when they shall appear, as they are bounden so to do, before it.

'But should the love of justice and virtue be unable to withdraw them from their sins and wickedness, we admonish them on the reverence and obedience they owe to our holy church, to turn from their evil ways, on pain of excom-

munication for their heresies, and of being condemned to other penalties; and we strictly command and enjoin, that Amadeus, this antipope, do, within fifty days from the date of these presents, lay aside his title of pope of Rome, and all others appertaining thereto, and that henceforth he do not presume to exercise any of the functions attached to the papacy in any manner whatever.

'The aforesaid electors and adherents to this antipope are strictly forbidden, under pain of being prosecuted by the apostolical chamber for schism, henceforward to favour or support the said antipope in any way whatever; and we order them to acknowledge us as the true bishop of Rome, vicar of God, and the legal successor to the holy apostles St Peter and St Paul,—the which, we as their father and pastor of their souls, expect them to obey, and appear before us at the time fixed on.

'Should the aforesaid antipope, Amadeus, and his followers, contumaciously refuse obedience, within the said fifty days, we will that they suffer every penalty at-

tached to their disobedience; but should it be otherwise, we are desirous of their appearance personally before us and the holy council precisely within fifteen days after the said term. Should that day be a feast-day, then on the day following, to hear from each of them their reasons for having thus acted; and we now summon them to appear before us on the day specified, on pain of being declared heretics, guilty of high treason, and sentenced to punishment for these crimes; and we shall then proceed to pass such sentences as their contumacy may require, according to the strict letter of the law, and as they may be found deserving.

'That these our summons may be fully made known to them, we shall order copies thereof to be attached to the doors of the new church of our Lady in Florence, that ignorance of them may not be pleaded,—and we shall otherwise make them as public as possible.

'We also will, and ordain, by our apostolical authority, that this our bull

be personally served on each of the principal delinquents, and proclaimed in every large town. To prevent any of them from excusing themselves from obeying these summons, under pretence that the court of Rome and the place where the council is held are not safe for them, and that they would run risks of their personal safety by going and returning thence, we, by these presents most earnestly exhort all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, whether attached to monasteries or to churches, all dukes, earls, princes, knights, and others, of whatever degree, together with their lieutenants, and all commonalties whether of towns, castles, or townships, to suffer the aforesaid persons to travel to the court of Rome, and to return thence without molestation in person or effects. All who shall in the smallest degree, infringe on these our orders will incur our highest displeasure; and should any one attempt it, he will be in danger of the anger of God and of his holy apostles St Peter and St Paul.

'Given at Florence, at our public

synodal session, in the new church of our Lady at Florence, in which city we are now resident, the 10th day of April, in the year of the incarnation 1439, and in the 10th year of our pontificate.

CHAP. XXVIII.

SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG, IN CONSEQUENCE OF BEING IN THE ILL. GRACES OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, SENDS LETTERS TO THE KNIGHTS OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE.

FROM reports that had been made to the duke of Burgundy injurious to sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny he was greatly displeased with him, and chiefly because he retained in his towns and castles large bodies of men at arms, who made frequent inroads on his subjects and country. Sir John, having been informed of this, sent letters to exculpate himself, to the knights-companions of the Golden Fleece, the contents of which were literally as follows.

'Very dear brothers, and companions; I have lately learnt from some true friends, that my redoubted lord the duke of Burgundy is angered against me, by reason of some reports that had been made to him. In consequence, I sent John Taillemonde aud my secretary Huet with letters, to supplicate him that he would have the kindness not to be angered against me, nor hold me in his indignation, without first hearing mé in my own justification and defence.

'He sent me by them credential letters,—and told them verbally the grounds of his discontent against me, from the reports that had been made him. As the charges seemed to them very heavy, they required to have them put in writing, but never could obtain it, which appears to me very surprising. However, they repeated them to me as well as they were able, and thereupon I wrote to my said lord my justification.

'I had hopes that some of you might have been present, to have heard it,—but as that was not the case, I now write to repeat it, that you may have it fresh in your memories.

'I shall begin with the charge against my loyalty, as what most touches my honour and hurts my feelings. It has been declared, that my lord has been informed by the English, that a short time after the peace of Arras, they wrote to my brother the archbishop of Rouen, that if it were agreeable to my lord the duke of Burgundy and his allies to keep the peace in respect to them, they and their allies would do the same in regard to him, his subjects, allies and countries; and that my lord and brother had pressed me to touch on this matter with the duke, and endeavour to have it accomplished,—but that, although my lord the archbishop had thus written to me, I had concealed the matter, which has been the cause of numberless and great evils, that would not have happened if I had acted loyally.

'In my excuse, I must say (saving the reverence due to my lord duke), that these great evils have not been caused by my fault or neglect; nor has the war been commenced or advised by me. I know for a truth, that if my said lord

had but remembered my actions in respect to this business, no such charge would have been made against me.

'It is a fact, that on the morrow after I had this information from my brother the archbishop of Rouen, dated Rouen, the 29th day of January, in the year 1435, and which I received on the 8th of February,' I dispatched some of my people to Brussels, where they arrived on the 10th, with credential letters from me, charging them to declare the intelligence I had just received from Rouen, and which they reported to me had been done. They received for answer, by the mouth of the bishop of Tournay, that for certain causes, which he then told them, my lord duke was not determined how to act in regard to the intelligence contained in my brother the archbishop of Rouen's letter, which had been in substance laid before him.

'It has been a matter of great wonder to me, that this bishop, who has such dignities and honours, in the church, who is reputed so wise and prudent, and who is the principal adviser of my lord duke,

should send a verbal answer by my people, and did not inform my lord of the necessity of otherwise acquitting himself toward me,—for had this been done, no such imputation could have been thrown on me.

'Should what I have now said be insufficient for my acquittal, I can produce letters signed by the hand of my lord to prove that I duly informed him of the contents of my brother's letter,—and that he declares in these letters, that he was not fully resolved how to act respecting the proposal from the English. You will, therefore, clearly perceive, that I have faithfully performed my duty; and henceforward I intend, if it be the good pleasure of God my Creator to exculpate myself by every means in my power, so that all the world may know that I have been no way to blame.

'With regard to another charge made against me, namely, that I have, since the peace at Arras, sent a body of men to join the English in Calais, without the knowledge of my said lord, or of my most redoubted lady the duchess of

Burgundy, or of the members of his council. It is true, that when I heard, my lady duchess was at Gravelines, I did send thither some of my people on business with my lord cardinal of England, thinking that he was there, as had been reported, I ordered them to treat on this business with him, the which I had formerly mentioned to my lord duke, who had consented that I might send to England on this subject. I wished not that this matter should be transacted privately, or in secret, but openly before all the world and even in the presence of my lady duchess and her council, should it then happen to be brought forward.

'Since my lord cardinal was not there, nor, as it was said, expected to arrive for some time, those whom I had sent thither, seeing many persons go to Calais, took on themselves to go thither also on their own affairs; but they first asked the permission of the lieutenant of Gravelines, who granted it, and they set off, not imagining any harm in so doing, as they have informed me. I certify to you, that I never charged them to sig-

nify any thing whatever to the English prejudicial to the realm or to my said lord, or any way tending to retard the negotiations that were to commence at Gravelines,—and I should suppose that I, of all persons, should be clear from the smallest suspicion of treasonable practises; for were I inclined that way, which God forbid! you may imagine I would have acted otherwise, and employed unknown emissaries, or merchants who daily repair thither; but never, please God, shall I have the will or courage to do any contrary to the honour or interest of my said lord, or unbecoming a knight of unsullied honour.—Respecting the summonses I had issued for guards, which was ascertained during a late meeting of the three estates at Arras, when it was discussed, that as my said lord was, through God's mercy, more powerful than ever any counts of Artois, his predecessors, had been, it seemed to this meeting that no other person but himself required guards; and, among other things, it is said, then and there determined upon, it was

resolved that none but my said lord should have guards.

'I have no remembrance whatever of being present at this meeting of the three estates at Arras when such conclusions were made; but I perfectly recollect, that at Lille, in the house of the lord de Roubaix, where my lord duke held his court, it was determined, in the presence of many of his council, that in future no one should have guards,—when I joined in opinion with the others, and said, that I would not summon any, if the rest would do the same. On this, I departed from Lille; but observing some time after, that several had their guards, I did the like, but did not suppose that my lord could be angered by my so doing, or that he wished to keep me in greater servitude than others. My lord even wrote me several letters with his own hand, and signed by him, on this subject, as did my lady duchess, assenting to my having these guards. It should seem, therefore, that my lord was not then displeased with my conduct.

'In regard to Riflart de Neufville,

who is said to have been killed on account of this business, and the lord des Bosquets, who was driven out of his house and grossly injured,—although I had many reasons to be displeased with both, yet when my lord shall be completely informed of the whole truth of these matters, I shall expect that the tales he has heard will be found lying and falsely wicked.

'As for the disobedience alleged against my officers and commissaries to the bailiff of Amiens, to the king's officers, and to those of the duke, whom they will not permit to execute any warrants saying and maintaining that I have not taken any oaths of allegiance but to the king of England,—I have never before heard any mention made of this, nor do I know what private wrongs may have been done, nor to whom: of course, I am unable to make any reply to this charge. I should have expected that the bailiff of Amiens, whom I consider as my particular friend, would have informed me of any misconduct in my people, for had he done so, I should

have exerted myself in such wise that my lord should have been satisfied. In regard to the provost of Peronne, who has charged my officers with waylaying and chacing him into the town of Cambray, with the intention of ill-treating and perhaps of killing him,—I have inquired of my officers, and they tell me, that when they were amusing themselves twenty leagues from Cambray, they were informed, that the said provost had vauntingly declared, that if he could lay hands on them, he would hang them by the necks; on which they suddenly pursued him, to know if what they had heard were true,—and learning that he had not said any such things, they had quietly left him.

'As for the threats which my said officers have held out to the abbot of St Aubert of Cambray, they beg to be held excused.

'With regard to the complaints of the receiver-general of Peronne, that he cannot exercise his office, nor the toll-gatherers at Bapaume, from the hinderance of my officers,—my lord will cause further

informations to be made on this subject, and will then write to me fully thereon, according to his pleasure, when I shall make such answers as ought to be satisfactory.

'In respect to master Ador Caperel, who has told my lord that I have caused him to be waylaid, to abuse and ill treat him, I assure you that this is not true,—and I beg that further information may be had thereon. Should it clearly appear, after I have been heard, that I have caused him to be waylaid, I am willing to receive such punishment as justice shall order; but should the contrary be proved, I entreat that you will beg my said lord to lay hands on the said Caperel and others, who have been guilty of such lying reports, that they may be severely punished, for an example to all others, to prevent them from doing the like, and that it may be publicly known that my said lord, and the members of his council, will not suffer such scandalous reports to be made against me, or others of his servants, with impunity.

'As for you, my very dear brothers and companions, whose prudence, valour, and wisdom, I am acquainted with, you would not that one of your brethren should be unjustly accused,—and in this confidence I have written thus fully, for your information, of the charges alledged against me, entreating you fraternally, at the same time, that you would exert yourselves toward my said lord, to induce him to withdraw his indignation from me, and be satisfied with the explanations and excuses contained in this letter, and no longer give faith to any reports made against any one without that person being first heard in his exculpation, that it may be proved on which side the fault shall be.

'In truth, if I am not assisted by you, and if proceedings shall be carried on against me without my being heard in my defence, I know not to whom to apply, nor have I any hope of being treated with justice, which must cause me to suffer the utmost grief. I refer you for all other particulars to the bearers of this letter, the before mentioned Tail-

lemonde and Huet, either of whom can relate to you the details of every charge.

'Very dear brothers and companions, if there be any thing you would wish me to do, let me be made acquainted therewith, and I will perform it most willingly, as the Lord knows, to whose holy keeping I commend you.

'Written at my hotel at Bohain on Candlemas-day.'

Such were the contents of the letters sir John de Luxembourg sent to the different knights-companions of the order of the Golden Fleece, the greater part of whom were very desirous to mediate with the duke of Burgundy that sir John might remain in his good graces. They daily remonstrated with the duke on this subject, and that he ought not to be so much displeased; but new matters of quarrel arose between them, and various tales were continually carried to the duke against him.

It happened, at this time, that in the provostship of Peronne a heavy tax was ordered to be collected, and, among others, some villages within the lordships of

Ham and Neel, then in the possession of sir John de Luxembourg, were taxed, who was very much discontented that such levies should be raised on his subjects; but, as the deed was done, he made an appeal against the officers of the duke of Burgundy who had laid the tax, and wanted to collect it.

The duke, dissatisfied on his part that this right should be questioned, sent a body of archers to support his officers in collecting the tax, who, on their arrival, carried the edict very rigorously into execution, by seizing all they could lay hands on,—insomuch that the sufferers went to Ham to make complaint to Jacotin de Bethune then in garrison.

On hearing what had passed, he instantly ordered his men to mount and go and see what could be meant by it, while he followed soon after. They advanced to where the duke's archers were, and, without further enquiry beat them soundly: a sergeant from Mondidier was wounded in many places; but when Jacotin came up, and saw that they belonged to the duke of Burgundy, he put

an end to the affray, and made excuses for what had happened, saying, that he had taken them for a party of the Skinners attached to king Charles.

They were, however, very ill treated, and speedily returned to the duke their lord, to whom they made heavy complaints about what had passed.—The duke was so indignant with sir John de Luxembourg for this that he resolved to force him to make amends for it, cost what it would.

He wrote shortly after to sir John to order him to send to him Jacotin de Bethune and the others who had committed this offence; but sir John refused, excusing himself, by saying, that he did not think that his people should be meddled with. Thus was their quarrel mutually increased.

Not long after this, Jacotin overthrew with the garrisons under his charge, a body of men belonging to the counts de Nevers and d'Estampes; when a gentleman, called La Perriere, was killed, together with others, at which the above named lords were greatly vexed. Sir

John de Luxembourg was, however, much feared, because he was possessed of some very strong places, such as, Coussy*, Beaulieu†, Ham sur Somme‡, Neel§, La Ferté‖, St Goubain¶, Marle**, Arsy††, Montaigu‡‡, Guise§§, Herison‖‖, Bouchain¶¶, Beaurevoir*⁎, Honnecourt‡‡, Oisy‡†, and others, all of which had numerous garrisons. He had not as yet broken off his connexions with the English: on the contrary, he depended much on their support,—for which reason many who were inclined to injure him,

* Coussy. Q. Courcelles? a town in Picardy.

† Beaulieu,—a town in Picardy.

‡ Ham sur Somme,—a town in Picardy.

§ Neel,—a village in Picardy.

‖ La Ferté. Q. La Ferté-Milon? a town in Picardy.

¶ St Goubain. Q. St Gobin? a town in Picardy.

** Marle,—a town in Picardy.

†† Arsy. Q. A town in Picardy

‡‡ Montagu,—Montaigu, a town in Picardy.

§§ Guise,—a town in Picardy.

‖‖ Herison,—a town in Picardy.

¶¶ Bouchain. Q. Bohain, a town in Picardy.

*⁎ Beaurevoir,—a town in Picardy.

‡‡ Honnecourt,—a town in Picardy.

‡† Oisy,—a village in Picardy.

were afraid to attack any parts of his territories, lest he should fill his towns and castles with English, which would be the total ruin of the country. For fear of this, all who hated him dissembled their feelings; nevertheless, he did not slacken in providing means of defence, but retained in his different towns and castles men at arms, ready to oppose all who should wage war against him, as well French as Burgundians. These warriors, however, harrassed the country much, more especially the Cambresis.

The english garrisons of Creil * and of other places, under pretence of being his men, made frequent excursions, taking many prisoners, and collecting all they could find, which they drove away to places under their obedience. Several of sir John's captains were connected with the English; one in particular, called Perrinet Quatre-Yeux, who was from near Beauvais in the Cambresis, who had served them as a guide to make prisoners and ransom some rich men in those parts,

* Creil,—situated on the Oise, ten leagues from Paris.

but it happened that, in the course of these wicked pursuits, he had come to a farm near Oisy, called Gourgouche; which being told to Sir John de Luxembourg then in the castle of Oisy, he instantly sent thither his archers, who put him to death, and buried him in a ditch,—and sir John gained great praise from all the country for so doing.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE COUNT DE RICHEMONT, CONSTABLE OF FRANCE, GAINS THE TOWN OF MEAUX IN BRIE FROM THE ENGLISH.

WHILE these things were passing, Arthur of Brittany count de Richemont and constable of France, collected about four thousand combatants, under the command of La Hire, Floquet, the lord de Torcy, sir Giles de Saint Simon, and other french captains, as well from Champagne as from other parts, whom he marched about the beginning of July before the town of Meaux in Brie, then in the possession of the English.

He first fixed his quarters at Champ-commun*, which is a very large village, and, shortly after, erected a blockhouse, fronting the gate of Saint Remy at Meaux, and lodged his men in the convent of the Cordeliers at St Faron-les-Meaux, and in other places near. He erected another blockhouse on the island opposite the town,—and one was placed by sir Denis de Chailly at the gate of Cormillon, leading toward Brie. Five others were afterwards erected on two islands near the court of Supletes, and opposite to the market-place, all of which were filled with men at arms.

Several large engines were also pointed against the gates and walls, which damaged them greatly. Having continued these attacks on the place for about three weeks, the constable consulted his officers and determined to storm the town, for which the men were very eager,—and

* Champ-commun—in the MS. corrections in M. du Cange's copy of Monstrelet in the imperial library at Paris: it is Chant-conin from the life of the constable; but I cannot find either of these names in the Gazetteer nor in Cassini's large map of France.

it was won with but little loss to the assailants. The bastard de Thian was made prisoner in the town, who was instantly beheaded together with another gentleman called Carbonnel de Haule, and some others. The besieged lost about sixty men,—and from forty to fifty were made prisoners on their retreat to the market-place. The constable now quartered himself and the greater part of his army in the town of Meaux, leaving, however, very strong garrisons in the blockhouses.

The chief commanders for the English in the market-place of Meaux were sir William Chamberlain, sir John Ripley and others, with about five hundred combatants. Prior to the siege, they had sent information to the government at Rouen of the intentions of the French to besiege them, and required to be reinforced as speedily as possible.

The earl of Cambridge, at that time governor of the duchy of Normandy for the king of England, accompanied by sir John Talbot, the lord Falconbridge, sir Richard Woodville, and other english

captains, with about four thusand fighting men, began their march from Rouen to raise this siege, and arrived before the town of Meaux. The constable, hearing of their intentions, had, however, withdrawn into the town before they came all his men and stores; and lucky it was, for had they remained in the field great mischiefs must have happened on both sides,—for the English desired nothing more than to fight the French.

They made many proposals to the constable to this effect,—but he refused to listen to them, or consent to a general action. Several skirmishes, however, took place, in one of which the English gained from the French twenty boats laden with provision; and in another quarter a blockhouse, under the command of the lord de Moy, was abandoned.

The English attacked and took one of the blockhouses, on the island opposite to the market-place, in which from a hundred to six score French were slain, and the rest made prisoners. After various attempts, finding the French unwilling to combat them, and that it was

impossible to hurt them in their present situation, they made preparations to return to Normandy the same way they had come, after having revictualled their countrymen in the castle of the market-place.

When they were departed, the constable renewed his attacks on the market-place with greater vigour, and with so many engines that after three weeks sir William Chamberlain capitulated to surrender the place, on having the lives and fortunes of the garrison spared. When this treaty was concluded, the English marched to Rouen, under passports; but on their arrival, their commander was much reproached for his surrender of Meaux which was so well provided with stores and provision, and was one of the strongest places of France: he was committed to prison in the castle of Rouen,—but, after some time, he found means of excusing himself to the lords of his party, who set him at liberty.

At this period, a gentleman named Jean de la Fange attached to the constable, was beheaded and quartered, on

being convicted of holding communications with the English, to the prejudice of the king of France and his realm. A sergeant of the Châtelet was also quartered with this Jean de la Fange.

CHAP. XXX.

SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG SENDS LETTERS TO EXCULPATE HIMSELF, TO THE GREAT COUNCIL OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY. THEIR CONTENTS.

Sir John de Luxembourg, count de Ligny and de Guise was duly informed how much the duke of Burgundy was displeased with him, and chiefly for the offence committed by Jacotin de Bethune against his archers, as has been before mentioned. In order, therefore, to exculpate himself as well as the said Jacotin, he wrote letters to the grand council of the duke, of the following tenour.

'Most reverend fathers in God, very dear and beloved cousins, and my most especial friends,—I believe it is within

your knowledge that a sudden quarrel has accidentally arisen between some archers of my most redoubted lord the duke of Burgundy and the men of Jacotin de Bethune, in my town of Ham.

'This has raised the indignation of my most redoubted lord against me,—for which I am more grieved than I can express. I shall therefore explain the matter fully to you, that you may be made acquainted with the whole, and exculpate me from any blame.

'Prior to this quarrel with the archers, the officers of my most redoubted lord imposed a tax on the land, without calling together a competent number of the three estates to authorize it,—and this tax they wanted to raise on my possessions. Some of my officers made an appeal against this conduct, and matters remained in this state,—when a body of those called Skinners, from the Valois, and other men at arms, showed a disposition to make war on me.

'These appearances obliged me to reinforce my strong places with men at arms,—and I sent Jacotin de Bethune

to guard my town of Ham. Some time afterward, certain persons on horseback made an inroad on my villages near to Ham, and carried away horses, cows, and whatever they could lay hands on: in consequence, many women hastened to Ham and complained of these outrages,—upon which Jacotin concluded they must be the Skinners, and instantly sent a party after them, when a scuffle ensued. But as Jacotin followed his men, finding that they belonged to the duke of Burgundy, he immediately put an end to the affray, and was exceedingly distressed that it had happened,—for he could never have supposed that they had belonged to my most redoubted lord, considering that an appeal was then lying in his courts against this tax being laid.'

'They had shown great mockery as they had passed by Ham, and had also declared, prior to this, that they had not been ordered to insult my territories; from which it plainly appears, that the dispute was sudden and unpremeditated; although my most redoubted lord summons me

on this account to deliver up to him Jacotin de Bethune and his men. I have, consequently, had the matter legally examined into, in the presence of the king's notary-public, and have had the result laid before my most redoubted lord, by which it appears that the said Jacotin and his men have not been so blameable as my lord duke has been told,—but that the fault lies with these archers, and other officers of justice, for having acted illegally.

'At the same time, I entreated him, in consideration of this body of evidence to withdraw his anger, and to suffer the affair to be treated judicially; adding that he might send whomsoever he pleased to take fresh examinations,—and that if I should be found guilty of having done any thing wrong, after having been heard in my own defence, I would make such amends as should be judged proper, or ask his pardon.

'I have also, for greater humiliation, and to take away all suspicions he may have conceived against me, (who have

never done him wrong) frankly made offer to ask his mercy, which offer he has not been pleased to accept, but has seized on the lands I and my wife possess in Flanders and in Brabant. This I think extremely hard, considering that I am no way culpable in the above affair, and have, besides, proposed to refer the whole to a court of justice: should I be found guilty, (which cannot be the case) there can be no reasonable ground for the confiscation of my lands, even according to the laws and usages of those countries.

'All these things I have fully declared to the lord de Santhois, who, of his courtesy, has come to visit me; and I have entreated of him to remonstrate with my lord duke, beseeching him that he would, out of his good grace, refer the whole matter to a court of justice, for that I was ready to appear in my defence before my said lord the duke of Burgundy, my lords companions of his order, and in the presence of his council,—or before the three estates of Flanders and Brabant,—or before the

judges within whose jurisdictions my lands lie.

'I supplicated at the same time my most redoubted lord, that he would accede to one of these proposals, and set my lands at liberty; for I am unwilling to fly from the justice of my said lord, or to seek other princes and judges than those to whom I have already offered to submit myself.

'It seems to me, that, under God, justice, and nobility, what I demand, ought not to be refused me; for I do not think I can offer fairer terms, or show greater duty, than to submit myself to be judged by my said lord, who is a prince of such high renown, by my lords companions of his order, who are his brethren, relations or friends, or persons selected for their valour and wisdom, or by his council, and by the three estates and judges of his countries of Flanders and Brabant, who are persons of consummate learning and prudence; offering, at the same time, to present myself and beg pardon of my said renowned lord the duke, notwithstanding that

I have never, in any one instance, done him wrong, as I have said before.

'Nevertheless, I have heard from some, who have purposely come to me, that the duke will not receive my offers until I shall have given up to his pleasures Jacotin de Bethune,—which is a thing impossible for me to do, as he is not within my power: and it is not to be supposed that any person who knew that he had incurred the anger of so powerful a prince as my most redoubted lord would suffer himself to be arrested, when certain martyrdom would be the consequence.

'Now, very dear and especial friends, I have stated to you the whole truth of the case, that you may be fully acquainted therewith, and consequently exert yourselves to procure my justification,—for you must now see how undeserving I am of blame,—and I entreat you most humbly to remonstrate with my said lord that I may be restored to his favour, and that he would take away his officers from my lands.

'I must beg that you would obtain me

the means of exculpating myself in a court of justice, considering that during my youth I loyally served my late lord, duke John, whose soul may God pardon!, and that I never failed, as is known to every one, in my services to my present lord, in assisting him to guard and defend his countries,—for he wrongfully detains my possessions without even attempting to demonstrate the legality of such confiscation, which, in fact, is due to all who demand it by every lover of justice.

'I pray you, therefore, to have in remembrance the duties I have performed and the offers I have made, which I have more amply detailed in the former part of this letter. Reverend fathers in God; very dear and beloved cousins and most especial friends, if there be any thing you would wish me to do, acquaint me therewith,—and, as the blessed Son of God knows, it shall be done with a hearty good will,—and to his holy keeping I now leave you. Written in

my castle of Vendeuil*, this 13th day of April.'

The direction was, 'To my very dear and very beloved cousins and especial friends, the members of the great council of my most redoubted lord, my lord the duke of Burgundy.'

When these lords had received their letters, they met together to consult on the best mode of proceeding relative thereto,—particularly the knights of the order of the Golden Fleece, of which order sir John de Luxembourg was one. They were very anxious to reconcile him with his lord; for they were afraid, should hostilities commence, very great inconveniences would arise to the territories of the duke. They also knew that he was a man of determined courage and enterprise, well provided with strong towns and castles, that would enable him to protract the war to a great length of time. He was likewise still connected with the English, who had promised to supply him with men and stores as of-

* Vendeuil,—a village in Picardy, near to Mondidier.

ten and in what quantities he should require.

They considered the valuable services he had done the duke and his country for a very long period,—and, on the other hand, that the French were daily making encroachments on the territories of the duke, and according to their opinion, very ill observed the articles of the treaty concluded at Arras. Weighing all these circumstances, they though it would be much better that sir John should be received into favour on making the satisfaction he had proposed than otherwise.

After this matter had been debated several times, they determined to wait on the duke in a body, and endeavour to bring it to the conclusion they had agreed on. They addressed him at length pointing out the necessity for a reconciliation, more particularly sir Hugh de Launoy lord of Santois, who had the business much at heart, as well as some others.

Nevertheless, at first they found the duke very shy and cold in his replies,

for he was indignant at sir John's conduct, more especially respecting the attack on his archers, which seemed to have angered him more than all the rest. The counts de Nevers and d'Estampes were also highly displeased with Jacotin de Bethune for slaying their men, and not indeed without cause.

These lords, however, by persevering, brought the matter to this issue, that no objection would be made to hearing sir John and the others in their defence, in consideration of the proposals made by him. At length, a day was fixed on for bringing the two parties together in the city of Cambray.

Thither came, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, the bishop of Tournay, master Nicholas Raoulin, lord of Authun*his chancellor, sir Hugh de Launoy, the lord de Saveuses, and other persons of rank. Sir John de Luxembourg was there, accompanied by many noble persons, as well knights as esquires and

* Authun. He was lord d'Ainneries and a native of Authun, and thus he styled himself. *Du Cange.*

counsellors at law,—and even Jacotin de Bethune was there also.

Within a few days after their arrival, the business was entered upon relative to the insults which were said to have been offered to the duke of Burgundy by sir John de Luxembourg, and others of his party. On the charges being declared, sir John made his reply, and exculpated himself from the greater part of them, offering likewise, by himself and council, to make whatever advances should be deemed proper.

After a long discussion, it was agreed to put down in writing such articles as should be thought reasonable to be complied with by each party, for the conclusion of peace. They were shown to sir John de Luxembourg, who corrected some of the articles that displeased him, and were then laid before the chancellor, and the other members of the council, who likewise made alterations. 'On their being brought back to sir John, he was so indignant thereat that, in his rage, he tore the paper into pieces, and said aloud, that the bishop of Tournay and the

chancellor should not manage him at their pleasure. However, through the interference of the other lords on each side, his heat was shortly after calmed, and matters were brought to an amicable conclusion, provided it met the approbation of the duke, to whom they were to carry the treaty.

Among other articles, Jacotin de Bethune was to surrender himself, in one of the public prisons, to the duke's mercy,—but the lords at Cambray, on the part of the duke, promised him to insist with their lord that he should be pardoned, and received into favour. When these matters had been thus concluded, the members of the council were grandly feasted, with the rest of the lords, at the hôtel of sir John de Luxembourg. All the adjoining countries were greatly rejoiced when they heard of this peace being concluded.

Soon afterwards, both parties left Cambray; and the commissioners from the duke of Burgundy laid before him what they had done, with which he was satisfied. Within a certain time, Jacotin

de Bethune waited on the duke, in his town of Hèdin, and surrendered himself to his mercy, requesting that, if he bore any anger against him, he would be pleased to pardon him,—but the duke sent him away a prisoner. It was not long, however, before he obtained his liberty, on certain conditions, that were granted him through the pressing intercessions of some lords of high rank, and of great weight in the duke's council.

CHAP. XXXI.

KING CHARLES OF FRANCE SENDS THE PRINCESS CATHERINE, HIS DAUGHTER, TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, CONFORMABLY TO THE TREATY OF MARRIAGE AGREED ON WITH THE COUNT DE CHAROLOIS HIS SON.

In the month of June, of this year, king Charles of France sent from his palace the lady Catherine, his daughter, to the duke of Burgundy, having consented to her marriage with his son the count de

Charolois. She was grandly and honourably accompanied by the archbishops of Rheims and of Narbonne, the counts de Vendôme, de Tonnerre, and de Dunois, the young son of the duke of Bourbon, called the lord de Beaujeu, the lord de Dampierre, and other noble personages, knights and esquires, together with an escort of about three hundred horsemen. She was attended by the lady of Rochefort, and several noble dames and damsels.

On their arrival at Cambray, they tarried in that city three days, and were grandly feasted by the clergy, the magistrates and inhabitants. The counts de Nevers and d'Estampes, the chancellor of Burgundy and numbers of the nobility, were at Cambray ready to receive her, together wtih the countess of Namur, the lady of Crevecœur, the lady of Hautbourdin, and many other ladies of birth. Very great honours and attentions were shown by each of the parties respectively. The young princess, who was but ten years old, was carried on a rich and highly ornamented litter,—and in all the

towns through which she passed, of France as well as Burgundy, the greatest honours were shown her. At the gates of the great towns, ten or twelve of the principal gentlemen were commonly in waiting to receive her, and kept their hands on the litter until she descended from it at the hôtel prepared for her.

On leaving Cambray, she arrived, after some days travelling, at Saint Omer, where the duke of Burgundy was holding his court. On her approach, he advanced out of the town grandly attended by his knights, and paid her every respect when they met, as did all who had accompanied him. He then led her into the town of St Omer where the marriage was fully confirmed.

Very great feasts took place in consequence, with tournaments, balls, music, and every other amusement. The lord de Crequy was tenant of the lists, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, against all comers.

They remained a considerable time at St Omer, on account of a conference that was about to be holden by ambassadors

from the kings of France and of England, between Gravelines and Calais, of which I shall shortly make mention.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE BASTARD OF BOURBON TAKES THE TOWN OF LA MOTHE IN LORRAINE.

In this year, the bastard of Bourbon left Jargeaux with about four hundred combatants, whom he marched by many days journeys to La Mothe* in Lorraine, and took it by storm. Every thing portable was seized on by his men,—and he remained there for a month, making excursions and pillaging all the country round. He even attempted the town of St Nicholas de Varengeville, which for a long time had not been attacked by any men at arms of either party.

Upon this, the governors of Lorraine, foreseeing the total ruin of that country, treated with the bastard of Bourbon to surrender the town of La Mothe

* La Mothe,—four leagues NNW. from La Marche.

and quit those parts, on receiving a large sum of money. When the money was paid, the bastard departed, and set out, with all his men, to return to the place whence they had come; but as he was marching near to Langres*, he was pursued and overtaken by sir John du Vergy, Anthony de Gelet, Philippot de Sainginis, who attacked and conquered him, and won from him all his plunder. Upwards of six score remained dead on the field; the rest, or the greater part of them, were made prisoners.

Thus those who had been robbed were in some measure avenged on their marauders,—but they did not recover what had been taken from them.—With regard to the said bastard, he was neither killed nor made prisoner.

* Langres,—a large city in Champagne, the capital of Bassigny-françois.

CHAP. XXXIII.

MANY NOBLE AMBASSADORS FROM THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND MEET BETWEEN GRAVELINES AND CALAIS, TO HOLD A CONFERENCE ON THE SUBJECT OF PEACE.

In this year, many noble ambassadors were assembled at the same place where, the preceding year, a conference had been holden on the parts of the kings of France and England and the duke of Burgundy. Among others, there came, on the part of the king of France, the archbishop of Rheims high chancellor, the archbishop of Narbonne, the bishop of Châlons, the counts de Vendôme and de Dunois, the lord de Dampierre, sir Regnault Girard, governor of la Rochelle, master Robert Mailliere, and Andry le Boeuf.

On the part of the duke and duchess of Burgundy came the bishop of Tournay, master Nicholas Raoulin his chancellor, the lord de Crevecœur, the lord

de Santois, master Pierre Bourdin, master Philip de Nanterre, and others.

From the king of England came the cardinal of Winchester, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Norwich, the bishop of St David's, the bishop of Lisieux, the dean of Salisbury, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Stafford and his brother, the lord de Bressuire, the earl of Oxford, sir Thomas Kiriel, with several others of the nobility.

They held several meetings to consider if they could not bring about a general peace between the two kings and their allies, and also respecting the deliverance of the duke of Orleans, who had remained a prisoner in England since the battle of Azincourt. But they could not agree on any conclusion worth speaking of; for the English refused to treat with the king of France unless the duchy of Normandy, together with all their other conquests, remained to them independant of the crown of France.

Another meeting was appointed for the ensuing year, and the conference was broken up, when they all separated with-

out doing any thing further. The English had come thither in great pomp, and magnificently dressed; but the cardinal of Winchester outshone all in the splendour of his tents and pavilions, and the richness of his gold and silver plate, and in all other necessaries and luxuries. He nobly feasted the duchess of Burgundy, his fair niece, before they all separated, and returned to the places they had come from, without transacting any other business.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE ENGLISH MAKE AN EXCURSION INTO THE COUNTRY OF SANTOIS*, WHERE THEY GAIN THE CASTLE OF FOLLEVILLE †, AND COMMIT MANY RAVAGES AND CRUELTIES.

About the beginning of Lent, in this year, the earl of Somerset, the lord Talbot

* Santois,—a small fruitful country of Picardy, to the south of the Somme and Peronne. Mondidier is the capital.—*Gazetteer.*

† Folleville,—a village in Picardy, election of Mondidier.—*Gazetteer.*

and other captains, collected about two thousand combatants, as well horse as foot, in the country of Normandy, near to Rouen, whom they marched, with all their baggage, provision and stores, toward the country of Santois. Having crossed the Somme near the town of Montrieul*, they quartered themselves before the castle of Folleville, then under the government of Bon de Saveuses, in right of the lady-dowager, whom he had married.

In consequence of the garrison making a sally, and killing a particular favourite of the earl of Somerset, whom he much loved, he swore a great oath that he would not march away until he should have conquered the castle, and reduced all within to his power.

He ordered an excellent small bombard, with other engines, to be pointed against it,—and their first discharge killed the governor. He continued his attacks with such courage that the garrison were glad to surrender the place and every

* Montrieul. This must be a mistake, for Montrieul is not on the Somme, and is quite out of their line of march.

thing it contained, and to pay a large sum as ransom for their lives. The earl had the castle repaired, and regarrisoned it with his men, who did great mischiefs to all the country round.

On the morrow of the surrender of this castle, the earl of Somerset departed with the remainder of his forces, and followed the lord Talbot, who was already far advanced into the country of Santois. They fixed their quarters at Lihons*, wherein they found abundance of every thing, as well as in the surrounding country,—for the inhabitants, not suspecting their coming, had not driven away their cattle and flocks to places of security.

At Lihons, there was a small fort and large church wherein the inhabitants had retired, on perceiving the English near the town. The earl summoned those in the church to surrender, or he would order an assault. They refused to comply, and, in consequence, on the morrow, a very severe attack commenced;

* Lihons,—a town in Picardy, near Peronne.—*Gazetteer.*

but the English, finding from its continuance that they could not otherwise obtain their end, set the church on fire, which was wholly burnt with all it contained,—and upwards of three hundred persons, men, women and children, were thus pitilessly destroyed, for very few escaped who had therein taken refuge.

Those who had fled to the fort, witnessing the cruel manner in which their poor brethren had been treated, entered into capitulation with the commissaries of the earl, and saved their lives and the town from being destroyed, by paying a large sum of money. They gave many hostages, women as well as men, for the due payment of their ransom, who were long prisoners at Rouen and elsewhere, from the delays in the payment. One of these hostages was a gentleman called Noiseux de Sailly, who died in prison.

While the English remained at Lihons, they made frequent inroads on the adjoining countries, whence they brought large booties to their quarters. They took

also the castle of Harbonnieres*, and the lord within it,—who, to ransom himself and his vassals, and to prevent the castle from being destroyed as others had been, agreed to pay one thousand golden saluts†.

During this time, the English met with no opposition,—but the count d'Estampes had arrived at Peronne, and instantly sent summonses to the principal persons in Picardy, Hainault, and the adjacent countries, to hasten to him with as many men as they could collect. They joined him in great numbers,—among whom were the lord de Croy, the lord de Humieres, the lord de Saveuses and his brothers, Waleran de Moreul, Jean de Brimeu, at that time bailiff of Amiens, sir Jean de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, the lord de Hautbourdin, the lord de Barbenson, sir Simon de Lalain, and very many more from the countries aforesaid, who, when they were assembled in Pe-

* Harbonnieres,—a town in Picardy, near Corbie. —*Gazetteer*

† Saluts,—old french crowns, of the value of five shillings sterling.—*Cotgrave.*

ronne and the towns round about, amounted to full three thousand well-tried combatants.

These lords held a council, to consider how they should act. Many wanted to fight the English without more loss of time; but others were of a contrary opinion, and gave good reasons, why they ought not to fight them. At length, it was determined to take the field during the night, and form an ambuscade near to Lihons in Santois, while some of the captains were to beat up the quarters of the English, and set fire to the outskirts of the town,—when they would consider, from the movements of the enemy, how it would be most expedient for the main body in ambush to act.

After this determination, every one was ordered to be ready to mount instantly after midnight,—and this order was obeyed. The count d'Estampes issued, immediately after, out of Peronne,—but they had scarcely advanced half a league from that town, when it became so very dark that they had difficulty to keep their road; they were, therefore, forced to

move about until it was lighter, so that their enterprise failed, and they returned back to Peronne. On this same day, about twelve o'clock, the count d'Estampes received certain intelligence that the English had dislodged from Lihons, and were on their march back to Normandy by the same road they had come.

When the English had remained for about ten days in Lihons, ransoming and despoiling the country as I have said, they marched back to Normandy, without meeting with any opposition worth mentioning, carrying with them much plunder, and hostages for payment of the composition-money. On repassing Folleville, they reinforced the garrison with a strong body of men.

During the stay of the English in Santois, and when they were quartered in Lihons, those attached to, and dependant on, sir John de Luxembourg went backward and forward, and had much communication with them, to the great astonishment of the count d'Estampes, who as well as the other lords with him,

were not very well pleased,—but they could not prevent it at that time. On the departure of the English for Normandy, the men at arms who had obeyed the summons of the count d'Estampes began to retire, each to the place he had come from.

[A. D. 1440.]

CHAP. XXXV.

THE DAUPHIN, THE DUKE OF BOURBON, AND MANY OF THE GREAT LORDS QUIT IN DISGUST THE COURT OF KING CHARLES*.

At the commencement of this year, the king of France assembled a large body

* This quarrel was caused by reforms which the king wanted to make in his army, that devoured the country, and was very displeasing to the nobles, who fattened on the misery of the people. The commotion was called *La Praguerie*. The dukes of Alençon, Bourbon, Vendôme, and even the bastard of Orleans, the count de Dunois, entered into it. They complained that the king intrusted the govern-

of nobles and men at arms to march into the Bourbonnois, and conquer the duke of Bourbon and destroy his territories; because he had, to his great vexation, seduced and carried off his son the dauphin, who had, until then, been lodged in the castle of Loches *.

The count de la Marche was governor of the castle of Loches, and was in the town at the time the dauphin went away, unsuspicious that he would do so without first speaking to him. The bastard of Bourbon, however, with Anthony de Chabannes and other captains, with a large body of men at arms, entered the castle, and, with the dauphin's consent, carried him away to the town of Moulins † in the Bourbonnois.

ment of the realm only to two or three private persons, and formed a league against the ministers. The duke of Alençon seduced the dauphin, then only sixteen years of age,—but whose turbulent disposition readily inclined him to make part of the conspiracy, in order to get rid of the count de Perdriac, his tutor.——*Mezeray.*

* Loches,—a town in Touraine, on the Indre, ten leagues from Tours.

† Moulins,—capital of the Bourbonnois, 45 leagues from Lyons.

Thither followed the duke of Bourbon, the duke d'Alençon, the count de Vendôme, the lords de la Trimouille, de Chaumont, de Prie, and other nobles and great lords, whose intentions were to invest the dauphin with the sole government of France, and to put king Charles in wardship to be managed by them.

In order to have aid to accomplish their plans, they summoned barons and gentlemen from divers countries, to whom they disclosed their intentions, and required them to make oath that they would serve the dauphin against all who should attempt to injure him. In this number came the great lords of Auvergne, who on hearing the proposal, made answer by the mouth of the lord de Dampierre, that they would cheerfully serve him in every thing excepting against the king his father; adding, that should the king come with an army into their country, and require their support, and a free entrance into their towns and castles, they would not dare to refuse him,—dan this those who made them the request must expect to see done, should the case happen.

This answer was not agreeable to the dauphin, nor to the other lords, who now began to suspect they should fail in their enterprise, and that it would turn out badly for them. They had also received exact intelligence that the king was marching a great power against them, and had already entered the Bourbonnois, carrying on a severe war against the towns and castles of the duke of Bourbon and his adherents, and had reduced several to his obedience.

In the mean time, the dauphin and his advisers had sent messengers to the duke of Burgundy to know if he would receive them in his territories, and afford them assistance to carry on their plans. The duke, after he had consulted with his ministers, replied, that his territories and fortune were at the disposal of the dauphin whenever he might please to come thither, but that upon no account would he afford him any assistance to carry on a war against the king his father,—and would be at all times ready to aid him in the recovery of his father's affections. He added, that he advised

him to take this step without loss of time,—for the continuance of this warfare was disgraceful to those concerned in it, and would be the most effectual means of completely ruining the kingdom of France.

To put an end to this quarrel, the duke of Burgundy sent ambassadors to the king of France, who mediated between the parties; and a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that the dauphin, the duke of Bourbon, and their adherents should appear with all humility in the presence of the king, and beg pardon for their offences. However, before this could be accomplished, the greater part of the estates of the duke of Bourbon and of his partisans were totally destroyed by the warriors of the king, who had marched thither a large army.

On the 19th day of July, the king being at Cusset* the dauphin and duke of Bourbon, accompanied by the lords de la Trimouille, de Chaumont, and de Prie were on the road to present themselves before him,—but when they

* Cusset,—a town in the Bourbonnois, near St Gérond.

were half a league off, a messenger from the king met them, and said, that the king would not promise them safety, and ordered them not to approach nearer to him.

The dauphin on hearing this, turned round to the duke of Bourbon, and said, 'My good friend, you could not have guessed how things would have turned out, or that my father would not have pardoned those of my household.' He then swore a round oath, that he would not return to his father. The duke of Bourbon replied, 'My lord, all will go well: do not doubt it: but you cannot go back, for the van of the king's army. is on the road.' He would, however, have attempted it, had not the count d'Eu, and other lords who had come from Cusset, to meet him, strongly remonstrated on the impropriety and danger of such proceedings.

The three lords aforesaid then went to Moulins; and the dauphin, with the duke of Bourbon, entered Cusset, and dismounted at the hôtel of the king. On entering the king's apartment, they

kneeled three times as they approached; and at the third they begged of him with great humility, to be pleased to lay aside his anger. The king then addressed his son, and said, 'Louis, you are welcome; you have been long absent. Go and repose yourself for to-day at your lodgings: to-morrow we will talk with you.'—After this, he conversed long and wisely with the duke of Bourbon, saying, 'Fair cousin, we are much displeased at the fault you have committed against our majesty, and which has been repeated five different times,' (mentioning when and where he had been guilty of it). 'Were it not for the honour and love we bear to some persons, whom I will not name, I would have made you feel severely my displeasure. Take care, therefore, that you be not guilty of the like again.'

After this conversation, the dauphin and the duke of Bourbon retired to their lodgings, where they remained until the morrow, and when the king's mass was ended, they again waited on him. In the presence of the members of the council, they again most humbly requested the

king that he would have the goodness to pardon them and the lords de la Trimouille, de Chaumont, and de Prie. The king made answer, that he would do no such thing, but was satisfied that they should return to their houses and estates. The dauphin replied, 'My lord, I must then go back to them, for such has been my promise.' The king displeased at this speech, instantly said, 'Louis, the gates are open to you,—and should they not be wide enough, I will have thrown down sixteen or twenty fathoms of wall that you may have sufficient room to go whithersoever you please. You are my son, and cannot bind yourself under promises to any one without my leave and consent: but should you wish to go away, go,—for, under God's pleasure, we will find some of our blood who will assist us in the maintenance of our honour and power with more firmness than we have hitherto done.'

The king turned away from him on the conclusion of this speech, and went toward the duke of Bourbon, who instantly took the oath of allegiance to be true to

him henceforward for ever. The king discharged all the officers of the household of the dauphin, except his confessor and cook.

The duke of Bourbon, in consequence of the terms of the treaty, promised to restore to the king, within a few days, the towns of Corbeil, Vincennes, Sancerre, and the castle of Loches, which were in his possession; but the king would not permit his army to quit the Bourbonnois and Auvergne until these places were fairly given up. The king also pardoned the duke d'Alençon, the count de Vendôme, and many other princes and nobles, who had taken part with the dauphin. When all these things were accomplished, the dauphin was satisfied to remain with the king his father, and peace was proclaimed in the following terms.

'We make known to you, by the king's command, that my lord the dauphin and my lord the duke of Bourbon have appeared before his majesty in all humility and obedience; that the king has affectionately received them into his good graces, and pardoned every thing. By

these presents, the king wills and ordains, that all quarrels and warfare cease, and that no prisoners nor captures of cattle, or of other effects, be made, or injuries done to any one by taking castles or towns, or otherwise,—but that all persons do now attend to their affairs, and go about their business without any interruption whatever,—and he forbids any places belonging to the duke of Bourbon or to others, being demolished.—Given at Cusset, the 24th of July, in the year 1440.'—It was subscribed at the bottom by order of the king and his great council, and signed 'Jugon.'

Within a few days after, the king gave to the dauphin the government of Dauphiny,—and ordered his army to march from the estates of the duke of Bourbon, toward Orleans and Paris.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE FRENCH OVERRUN THE LANDS OF NEEL, BELONGING TO SIR JOHN DE LUXEMBOURG.

In the month of July, of this year, while sir John de Luxembourg count de Ligny was at Neel in the Vermandois, the garrisons of Crespy in Valois*, of Ver†, and other places, to the amount of about one hundred combatants, advanced thither having crossed the Oise at the bridge of Saint Maixence, under the command of Gilbert de la Roche, a companion of arms to sir John de Luxembourg. They overran the country round Neel, belonging to the count de Ligny, and made great prizes of peasants, cattle, horses, and of all they could seize,—after which, they set out with their plunder, on their return home.

Intelligence of this was carried to sir John de Luxembourg, who was very indignant thereat,—for it was not the

* Crespy in Valois—capital of the Valois, six leagues from Senlis.

† Ver,—a village in Picardy, diocese of Senlis.

first time such pillaging had taken place. He instantly assembled, from his nearest towns and castles, about a hundred fighting men, whom he sent in pursuit of them. The principal captains were sir David de Poix governor of Guise, Guyot de Bethune, Antoine de la Baniere governor of Ham, Antoine du Belloy, and other gentlemen, who, riding full speed, overtook them below Compiégne, opposite to Royaulieu*, where they had sent across the river, by means of a boat which they had found there, good part of the cattle and horses,—and about twenty were in the boat crossing, when they saw their adversaries arrive, and vigourously attack those who had remained behind. Wishing therefore, to assist their companions, they turned the boat toward the shore they had come from, but it was useless; for no sooner did it approach than such numbers, from fright and surprise, leaped into it that it overset, and many were drowned and their effects lost. The rest were defeated, and several slain: in this

* Royaulieu,—a convent in the diocese of Soissons, near Compiégne.

number was Gilbert de la Roche. Rassillé saved himself by flight, with only about eight or ten of his men.

The conquerors now crossed the river to seek for the plunder,—and, by another road, drove the cattle, &c. to Neel, where sir John de Luxembourg came out to meet them, much rejoiced at their good success. They brought with them five prisoners, the majority of whom were hanged.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE EARL OF SOMERSET BESIEGES HARFLEUR WITH A POWERFUL ARMY OF ENGLISH.

About the end of April, in this year, six thousand english combatants were assembled near to Rouen, under the command of the earls of Somerset, of Dorset*, and of

* The following note, having been mislaid, was omitted at p. 177. line 7. 'Mortaigne.'

The count de Mortain was going on an expedition to France, when he was counter-ordered to Calais, on account of the duke of Burgundy besieging it.

Falconbridge, they having with them the lord Talbot, sir Francis the Arragonian, Matago, Jacquemin, Vacquier, Thomas Heniton, the bailiff of Rouen, and some other captains, who marched thence, and besieged Harfleur by sea and land.

The governor for the king of France was John d'Estouteville, having with him his brother Robert and others, to the amount of four hundred fighting men, who, with the townsmen and sailors, made every preparation to receive their adversaries with courage. They strengthened every weak part of the fortifications, and made some sallies, in which they took prisoners, or slew several of their adversaries.

The besiegers on their side, were not idle in securing their camp with deep

Sir John Radcliffe was lieutenant of the town of Calais, and baron Dudley of the castle.

This count de Mortain is styled, in the treaty of Harcourt between the French and English, A. D. 1438, 'Edmond comte de Dorset, et de Mortain, et de Harcourt, captaine general et governeur de par monseigneur le roi du pays d'Anjou, du Maine, &c.' *Dumont, Corps Universel de Diplomatique.*

ditches all round, and with strong hedges, to prevent any surprise, leaving, at proper intervals, openings for their own convenience to sally forth. They pointed bombards, and other destructive engines, against the gates of Harfleur, which harrassed the town much, and for so long a time a time that the inhabitants suffered greatly. They were also oppressed, by a famine, caused from a want of all necessaries. They sent several messengers to king Charles to state their situation and solicit succour, which he promised to send: but, from the many weighty affairs on his hands, he was unable to do it so soon as they required.

However, at the end of about four months that this siege had lasted, and when the countess of Somerset and other ladies and damsels were come thither to see the conclusion of it, the count d'Eu was ordered to march, with the promised succour, to the relief of the town. He had with him the count de Dunois bastard of Orleans, the bastard de Bourbon, the lord de Gaucourt, La Hire, sir Giles de St Simon, the lord de Penerach, Pierre de Broussac,

and other experienced captains, with about four thousand combatants.

John d'Estouteville had in the town about four hundred fighting men, whose captains were John de Bressay, sir James de Hincourt, Hector de Fol, Guillot de Las and John Gentil. The succours sent him were all picked men: they marched through the country near Paris, then suddenly turned toward Amiens and Corbie, where they crossed the river Somme, and thence through Ponthieu, came to Abbeville, where they held a council on their future proceedings. As they marched through Picardy, they were joined by all the vassals of the lords d'Auxi and de Humieres, John d'Ailly lord of Araines, Guillaume le Jeune lord of Cousay *, and many other gentlemen.

When they had fully deliberated in a general council how they should act, they caused thirty carts to be laden with artillery, provision and warlike stores, and then left Abbeville in handsome array,

* Cousay. Contay.——*Du Cange.*

and marched to Eu*. The bastard of Bourbon and La Hire commanded the vanguard. From Eu they marched to quarter the greater part of their force at Le Bourg-d'Un †,—and the count was lodged at St Aubin en Caux‡; but this same day, about vespers, the lord de Gaucourt, having remained behind, was made prisoner by about eighteen English, who had watched his steps, and carried him off to the castle of Neuf-châtel§ de Hincourt. He afterwards regained his liberty, on paying a large sum of money for his ransom.

The count d'Eu had intelligence while at St Aubin, that the English had taken master John de la Motte, whom he had sent to inform the garrison of Harfleur of the relief he was bringing them; and this very day, the English sent pursuivants

* Eu,—a considerable town in Normandy, eight leagues from Abbeville.

† Le Bourg-d'Un,—a village in Normandy, near St Valery en Caux.

‡ St Aubin en Caux,—a village in Normandy, near Dieppe.

§ Neuf-châtel,—on the road from Amiens to Rouen, 16 leagues from Amiens.

to say, that they would advance to combat the French before they proceeded further,—which, however, they did not do. On this account, the French advanced their whole force to Fauville en Caux*, two leagues nearer their adversaries. On the morrow, at day-break, they marched to Montivilliers†, which was under their obedience, and there learnt for certain that the English had not broken up their siege.

This day the count d'Eu went to reconnoitre the enemy, escorted by about one hundred chosen horsemen mounted on the flower of their cavalry, when some sharp skirmishing took place between them and a party of English. On his return, he called a council of his ablest captains, to consider how they should act,—and they lamented the loss of the lord de Gaucourt, who, from his great experience in such matters, would have ably advised them. It was resolved in

* Fauville,—a market-town in Normandy, in the country of Caux, four leagues from Fêcamp.

† Montivilliers,—a town in Normandy, in Caux, two leagues from Harfleur.

this council, that the count should embark with a certain number of combatants, and attack the enemy on the side of Caux; that the bastard of Orleans should do so, with another detachment, on the opposite side; and that the Picards should advance on foot, with pontoons to throw over the ditches which the english had made round their camp; and that all these operations should commence as nearly as possible at the same instant of time. La Hire and the rest of the captains were to remain on horseback with their men, ready to succour those that might stand in need of support.

When these orders had been given, every one made his preparations for executing them on the ensuing day. The attack first commenced on the quarters of the lord Talbot, and was very sharp, lasting for more than half an hour; but the assailants, though they fought valiantly, made little impression, from the superior resistance of the English, and because their pontoons were too short for them to cross the ditches. On the other hand, the enemy was advantageously

posted,— and their archers, who were very numerous, shot so well and briskly that they wounded and killed great numbers with their arrows. Among the slain were two valiant knights, sir John de Chailly, lord of Chambois, and sir Harpin de Richames, governor of Rue*, and a few more.

At this attack, some new french knights were made,—such as John d'Ailly, Guillaume le Jeune, and others. While this was going forward, the English to the amount of five hundred, charged the infantry, but were soon repulsed by the cavalry, with the loss of forty or fifty slain. The garrison now made a sally on the guard before the gate, and killed about thirty.

The count d'Eu made a fruitless attempt with his men on the side near the sea, for the English had so strongly fortified every point where he could land that it was labour in vain; and after losing some of their vessels, which had grounded, they retreated to Montivilliers.

* Rue,—a town in Picardy, two leagues from St Valery.

The infantry likewise retreated thither, finding that they could not gain any advantage.

The French remained eight days at Montivilliers, in great want of provisions, for themselves and their horses, waiting to see if they could any way afford assistance to the besieged,—and during this time many skirmishes took place. The count d'Eu sent proposals to the earl of Somerset, to decide the raising of the siege on a personal combat with him, or of one hundred men against a hundred Englishmen; but neither was accepted, because the earl knew full well that the garrison and inhabitants were so much distressed by famine that they must, within a few days, surrender at discretion. The earl and the other captains considered also the very great expence their king had been at for this siege, and, when so near gaining their object, would not put the risk of losing it to the chance of a battle, at the request of their adversaries.

The French then, from their great want of victual, and from the superior numbers of the English, seeing the im-

possibility of relieving the town, concluded unanimously to return whence they had come as speedily as they could. They were forced to this from want of food for themselves and their horses, which was not to be had for any consideration; but, before their departure, they requested a passport from the enemy for the lord de Rambures, which was granted.

The lord de Rambures then went to the english camp to treat for the surrender of Harfleur,—and the French and Picards, in the mean time, retreated to Abbeville. On their march, they were met by certain messengers from the duke of Burgundy, to forbid them entering his territories, by reason of the great damages they had done when passing through them before, threatening that if they should set foot in them he would drive them back by force.

They promised not to touch the duke's lands,—but a few broke their word, and entered Ponthieu, drawing toward Amiens, and committed great damages; but the counts d'Estampes and de St Pol, having

collected a large force of men at arms, attacked and repulsed them.

Some skirmishes took place on each side; but at length, for certain considerations, they promised to withdraw from the duke's territories and make for Santois, and for the lands of sir John de Luxembourg, threatening to carry thither fire and sword. Sir John was, however, so well provided with troops to resist them that they were happy to pass quietly through his possessions,—for the count de St Pol was hard on their rear, with a very numerous body of men, ready to succour his uncle should there be any need of it. They advanced into Champagne, doing great waste to all the poor people whose countries they passed through, and who were unable to oppose them.

The lord de Rambures concluded a treaty with the earl of Somerset and the other english captains for the surrender of Harfleur, that the inhabitants might depart in safety, each with a white staff in his hand. In like manner was Montivilliers reduced, for it was forced to surrender from want of provisions.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A VERY GREAT LORD IN BRITTANY, CALLED THE LORD OF RETZ, IS ACCUSED AND CONVICTED OF SORCERY.

In this year, a very extraordinary event happened in Brittany. The lord of Retz, then marshal of France and of a very noble birth, and a great landed proprietor, was accused and convicted of sorcery, which he had long followed, by the instigation of the devil and his adherents. He confessed having put to death many young children and women with child, with the intent of arriving at great fortunes and honours,—and that with the blood of these victims to his superstition, whom he had violently murdered, were written divers books of diabolical conjurations, and other things contrary to the catholic faith.

When he was arrested and examined, he confessed that in this way, he had caused upward of eight score persons of different sexes and ages to be put to death. After a trial before competent

judges, he was condemned to be hanged and strangled until he should be dead, and then his body to be burnt.

The duke of Brittany and numbers of the nobility, as well secular as ecclesiastical, were present at this trial in the town of Nantes, where the sentence was executed. However, when the first part of it was done, and his body partly burnt, some ladies and damsels of his family requested the body of the duke, that they might inter it in holy ground, which the duke granted.

Notwithstanding the many and horrid cruelties he had been guilty of, he made a very devout end, full of repentance, requesting most humbly of his Creator to have mercy on his manifold sins and wickednesses. The greater part of the nobles of Brittany, more especially those of his kindred, were in the utmost grief and confusion at his disgraceful death. Before this event, he was much renowned as a most valiant knight at arms.

CHAP. XXXIX.

PIERRE DE REGNAULT, BASTARD-BROTHER TO LA HIRE, GOES ON A FORAGING PARTY TO THE COUNTRY ROUND ABBEVILLE.

ABOUT this period, Pierre de Regnault bastard-brother to La Hire, who resided in the castle of Mailly, near to Beauvais, which he had repaired, set out with about eight score combatants, as well horse as foot, to forage the country round Abbeville. He took the castle of Yancourt*, and the lord within it, whence he carried away every thing that was portable.

Intelligence of this was soon carried to Abbeville, wherein were the lord d'Auxi, Guillaume de Thiembrone, Philip de Vaucourt†, Guy Gourle‡, and other captains, who no sooner heard it than they armed themselves and their men, and sallied out horse and foot, to the amount of more

* Yancourt,—in Picardy, near Peronne.

† Vaucourt. Jaucourt.——MS. DU CANGE.

‡ Gourle. De Gourlay.——MS. DU CANGE.

than three hundred, with the intent of overtaking the marauders and recovering the plunder they had made from the castle of Yancourt.

Pierre de Regnault, having had notice of this assembly, sent to the lord d'Auxi to excuse himself for what he had done, saying, it was only provisions he was seeking,—but this excuse was not admitted. Great discord now arose on the meeting of the two parties,—but Pierre de Regnault, observing that most of those who had come from Abbeville were only common men, charged them furiously; and breaking through them with little resistance, he turned on their rear, and, with great slaughter, totally defeated them.

Twenty or thirty were killed on the spot, and nine were drowned in attempting to cross the Somme,—in which last number was Guy de Gourlay,—and upward of sixty were made prisoners; the principal of whom were sir John de Fay knight of Rhodes, sir Philip de Jaucourt, and sir William de Thiembrone.

After this defeat, Pierre de Regnault returned with his prisoners and booty, un-

molested, to his castle of Mailly, and ransomed his prisoners as if they had been Englishmen. He made, during this year, frequent excursions on the territories of the duke of Burgundy, who was very much displeased thereat, and in consequence sent information thereof to king Charles, and complained that those of his party were daily robbing and pillaging his country and subjects, and committing such devastations as were not to be endured, considering that peace had been concluded between them.

The king made answer, that he was equally vexed at such misconduct, and offered many excuses; adding, that he would provide as speedy a remedy for it as he could,—but that he should be no way displeased at the duke if he could arrest any of these marauders and put them to death, or punish them by any other method he might choose.

Notwithstanding this, the same inroads and plundering were continued, to the ruin of the poorer ranks of people.

At the same time, La Hire's companions, who resided in the castle of

Bonne near Laon, began to make inroads on Hainault, the Cambresis, and other places dependant on the lord de St Pol, who, dissatisfied with their proceedings, placed a strong garrison in the town of Marle* to oppose them.

This garrison one day marched toward Rheims,—and, to secure a passage over the river, took the fort of Bac-a-Bery†, of no great value, but possessed by La Hire's men. They left about thirty combatants to guard it, under the command of a captain; but within a few days the men of La Hire returned, having been joined by some from the garrisons in the Valois, who had been lately beaten by sir John de Luxembourg, amounting in the whole to full three hundred fighting men.

They instantly attacked the fort, which was soon won, and all within it put to the sword, or forced into the river and drowned,—after which, the

* Marle,—a town in Picardy, five leagues from Laon.

† Bac-a-Berry. Q. Berru? a village in Champagne, diocese of Rheims.

French left a stronger garrison in the fort.

Within sixteen days, the vassals of the count de St Pol, and of his uncle sir John de Luxembourg, again assembled in great numbers, with the intent of attacking this garrison in the fort of Bac-a-Bery; but they, having had notice of their coming, abandoned the place before they arrived. The fort was now demolished and razed to the ground.

Thus were the countries about Rheims, Laon, and other parts, sorely oppressed by the inroads of both parties; and this was done by one side, as it has been said, because sir John de Luxembourg would not take the oaths of allegiance to king Charles, and had kept all his garrisons on a war establishment, to prevent them being insulted.

CHAP. XL.

AMBASSADORS FROM FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND BURGUNDY, MEET AT CALAIS TO TREAT OF A GENERAL PEACE.

In these days, several ambassadors of note were sent by king Charles to St Omer to treat of a peace with the English, who were to come to that town according to their promise of last year. The principal of these were the archbishop of Rheims and of Narbonne, and the count de Dunois bastard of Orleans. On their arrival at St Omer, they were grandly feasted by the duke of Burgundy, and soon after heard that the duke of Orleans was come to Calais, being brought thither by the English: on which they sent to Calais, to know at what place it would be agreeable to them to hold their convention.

The answer returned was, that the English would not quit Calais with the duke of Orleans,—but that, if the french ambassadors would come thither,

they would be ready to enter upon the business. Having considered the proposal, the archbishop of Rheims, the count de Dunois, and others, went thither under passports, together with the lord de Crevecœur and the envoys from the duke of Burgundy. On their arrival at Calais, the count de Dunois was conducted to the duke of Orleans his brother who received him with much joy,—and most courteously thanked him for the attentions he had paid to his property during the time of his imprisonment.

After this, the parties met on business several times,—and divers proposals were made respecting the deliverance of the duke of Orleans, and for a general peace; but as they could not agree as to several articles, they appointed another meeting, before which each was to inform his sovereign of the grounds they had laid for a negotiation to establish peace between the two kingdoms.

The French and Burgundians returned to St Omer, and, shortly after, the duke of Orleans was carried back to England.

CHAP. XLI.

THE BARROIS AND LORRAINERS OVERRUN THE COUNTY OF VAUDEMONT, WHERE THEY COMMIT GREAT WASTE AND DESTRUCTION.

WHILE these things were passing, the Barrois and Lorrainers collected a large force, together with some Frenchmen, and marched for the county of Vaudemont, where they carried destruction with fire and sword, committing sacrilege on many churches and doing inestimable mischiefs.

The count de Vaudemont, to avenge himself, not having sufficient forces of his own, sent to demand succour from the duke of Burgundy, and from his son-in-law the lord de Croy, and to beg of them not to delay sending him reinforcements of men at arms. In consequence, sir John de Croy was dispatched to him, accompanied by sir Simon de Lalain, the lords de Launoy and de Maingoual, nephews to the lord de Croy,

sir John bastard de Reuly*, sir Anthony de Wissoch, and other nobles, with a body of one thousand combatants, who fixed their rendezvous at Aubanton†, and thence marched toward the duchy of Bar, for the Barrois had evacuated the county of Vaudemont.

They continued advancing until they came before the town of Bar-le-Duc‡, in which were the marquis du Pont, son to the king of Sicily, duke of Bar, and others of the nobility of that country. They summoned the marquis to come out and give them battle, for that they were ready and anxious to meet him in the field.

The marquis, by advice of his council, made answer, that he would not combat them at their request and pleasure; but he had that intention in proper time and place, when he should judge most fitting. The Burgundians,

* Reuly. Rely.——Du Cange.

† Aubanton,—a town in Picardy, near Vervins, diocese of Laon.

‡ Bar-le-Duc,—a strong town of Lorraine, on the confines of Champagne.

on hearing this answer departed thence for a large village, called Longueville*, where they were met by the count de Vaudemont with all the forces he could muster.

On the morrow, they advanced farther into the duchy of Bar, destroying every thing with fire and sword; and thence into Lorraine, were they despoiled all all that was not secured in the fortified towns and castles; and what was worse, they took by force some churches and committed divers sacrileges. In truth, the count de Vaudemont was so determined on his revenge that he would have continued this cruel treatment throughout the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, had not the lords who had come to his aid been dissatisfied with it.

He could not keep them longer with him, nor indeed his own men; so that after they had been employed on this business for the space of twenty-six days, without meeting with any force to combat, they returned whence they had

* Longueville,—three leagues north from Faquemont.

come, but by another road, after having suffered greatly from want of provision for themselves and their horses.

Such was the mode in which war was carried on between these two great lords, to the ruin and destruction of the poorer people.

CHAP. XLII.

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS OBTAINS HIS LIBERTY BY MEANS OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY, AND MARRIES THE LADY OF CLEVES, NIECE TO THE SAID DUKE.

SEVERAL embassies, as you have seen, took place between the kings of France and of England, and the duke of Burgundy, to endeavour to bring about a general peace, and also to obtain the deliverance of the duke of Orleans from his confinement in England. They had, however, been attended with little success for the English held out no hopes of peace, but to the prejudice and loss of the king of France and his realm.

They would not condescend to treat in earnest but on condition that all the conquests they had made in France should remain freely to them, with any dependance whatever on the crown of France, and they particularly insisted on holding the duchies of Guienne and Normandy on these terms. This had prevented the conclusion of a general peace, for neither the king of France nor his council would submit to them.

In regard to the duke of Orleans, the English (as I heard from one who pretended to be acquainted with the secrets of their government) were not desirous that he should gain his liberty; for many persons about the court received very large sums to defray his expenses, and this was the cause why he had been so long detained prisoner. In truth had the king of France, or those who had the management of the duke of Orleans' estates, refused to send over any more money, it is to be supposed that his deliverance would have been sooner effected. Nevertheless, I believe that every thing was done honourably, and with good intentions.

While these negotiations were pending, and afterward, the duke of Burgundy had a great desire to aid the duke of Orleans in his deliverance, as well from their near connexion by blood, as that, on his return to France, they might remain good friends, forgetting all former feuds that had existed between their houses.

In consequence, he caused frequent overtures to be made to the duke of Orleans, and to those who governed him, to learn in what manner he could best assist him for the accomplishment of this purpose; and at the same time, he caused him to be sounded, whether he would be willing to marry his niece, a daughter of the duchess of Cleves his sister, then with him; and also, in case of his deliverance, if he would agree to ally himself with the duke of Burgundy, without taking any measures in times to come against him or his family, in consequence of the former quarrels between their fathers, against their mutual enemies, the king of France and the dauphin alway excepted. The duke of Orleans, consi-

dering the long imprisonment he had suffered and might still undergo, readily assented to these propositions.

He gave his promise, on the word of a prince, that if the duke of Burgundy should obtain his liberty, he would instantly espouse his niece, the lady of Cleves, and satisfy the duke completely as to his other proposals. In consequence of this engagement, measures were taken in earnest, for the ransom of the duke of Orleans, with the king of England and his council; when after many delays, it was agreed to by the king of England, on condition that the duke of Burgundy would give security, under his seal, for the due payment of his ransom.

By the conclusion of this treaty, the duke of Orleans obtained his full liberty; and after he had solemnly promised to employ himself earnestly to bring about a general peace, and taken his leave of the king of England and some of the nobility, he set out from London, and arrived at Calais, furnished with ample passports, and thence was conducted to

Gravelines, escorted by the lord de Cornewall* and sir Robert de Roix†, and other gentlemen.

The duchess of Burgundy, attended by many great lords and gentlemen, came out of Gravelines to meet him; and both expressed much pleasure on the occasion,—the duke of Orleans for his liberty, and the duchess for his arrival. Within a few days, the duke of Burgundy came thither to see him, when, as before, great joy was testified on each side, and many and frequent embracings took place: indeed their pleasure was so great, on this meeting, that neither could for some time utter a word.

The duke of Orleans broke silence first, and said, 'On my faith, fair brother and cousin, I ought to love you more than all the princes on earth, and my fair cousin the duchess also; for had it not been for you and her, I should have remained for ever in the power of my

* Lord de Cornewall.—Sir John de Cornewall, summoned to Parliament 11 Henry VI.

† Sir Robert de Roix. Sir Robert Roos.

adversaries,—and I have never found a better friend than you.'

The duke of Burgundy replied, that 'the not having done it sooner had weighed much on his mind,—for that he had for a considerable time, been desirous of exerting himself for his deliverance. Such was the conversation, often renewed, between these two princes, which rejoiced all that heard it; and every one was glad of the return of the duke of Orleans who had been a prisoner in England since the Friday before All-saints-day in the year of grace 1415, until the month of November in the year 1440.

The ambassadors from the king of France were present at this meeting; the principal of whom were the archbishop of Rheims, lord chancellor of France, the archbishop of Narbonne, the count de Dunois, bastard of Orleans, and some others,—to each of whom, in his turn, the duke of Orleans gave a most gracious reception, but particularly to his brother.

The company thence went by water to St Omer, and were lodged in the

abbey of St Bertin, where grand preparations had been made for the reception of the duke of Orleans, who was accompanied by the english lords. He was there received most honourably by the duke of Burgundy and the lords of his household. Great presents were made him by the municipality; and he was daily visited by persons from France and Picardy,—but more from his own territories than elsewhere, who were very much rejoiced at his return.

After some days, the duke of Orleans was requested, on the part of the duke of Burgundy, that he would be pleased to swear to the observance of the treaty of Arras, and take to wife the lady of Cleves, niece to the duke of Burgundy, as had been before treated of and the duke replied, that he was perfectly ready and willing to confirm all that he had promised when a prisoner.

This business being settled, the two dukes entered the choir of the church of St Bertin, with their attendants, whither the treaty of Arras was brought, written in Latin and in French. It was read

aloud, first in Latin, then in French, by master James Trançon, archdeacon of Brussels, in the presence of the two dukes the archbishops, bishops, and a great number of knights, esquires, burghers, and officers of each party.

When the reading of it was ended, the duke of Orleans promised and swore on the book of the holy Evangelists, which the said archdeacon held in his hand, faithfully to observe all the articles of the treaty in general, excepting those articles that related to the death of the late duke of Burgundy,—saying, that he was not bounden to exculpate himself from this death, as his mind was no way consenting thereto; that he was perfectly ignorant of the attempt, and had been very much displeased and vexed when he heard of it, as this event had thrown the kingdom of France into greater danger than it had ever experienced.

After this, the count de Dunois was called upon to take a similar oath, who, delaying some little to comply, was instantly commanded by the duke of Orleans to take it, which he then did. The duke

then renewed his promise to espouse the lady of Cleves,—and they were immediately betrothed to each other by the archbishop of Narbonne.

Great feastings and every sort of amusement and entertainment now took place; and the duke of Burgundy's purveyors were dispatched to distant countries, to supply provision for the wedding-feast,—and also for that of St Andrew, which the duke had not for some time kept. The duke of Burgundy defrayed the whole of the expenses of the duke of Orleans and of his train.

On the Saturday before St Andrew's day, the duke of Orleans was married to the lady of Cleves; and on the ensuing day, the feast was celebrated, when great crowds of the nobility came thither to view the procession of the lords and ladies to the church. The duke of Burgundy led his niece by her left hand; on the right, behind him, were sir John bastard of St Pol and the lord de Hautbourdin, who held up the sleeve of her robe. A lady supported her train, which was very rich. A little behind came the

duke of Orleans leading the duchess of Burgundy, attended by the counts d'Eu, de Nevers, d'Estampes, de Saint Pol, de Dunois, while others of the high nobility and ladies of rank, knights, esquires, and damsels, followed the archbishop of Narbonne, who on what day chaunted mass.

The archbishop was attended by a numerous body of clergy, who made processions round the choir; and there were numbers of kings at arms, heralds and pursuivants, as well as trumpeters, minstrels, and others playing on a variety of musical instruments. All these heralds were dressed in their tabards emblazoned with the arms of their respective lords, and in the number was Garter king at arms from England.

The lord Fanhope and sir Robert Roos, with their attendants, were present at all these ceremonies, to whom the highest honours were paid, and the handsomest reception given: the duke of Burgundy showed particular attention to lord Fanhope, and they went all over the town without hindrance.

When mass was finished the com-

pany went to dinner, where the duchess of Orleans was seated at the middle of the table in the great hall: on her right was the archbishop who had celebrated mass, and on her left the duchess of Burgundy. There were also the countesses d'Estampes and de Namur. At other tables were seated ladies and damsels, each according to her rank and degree.

With regard to the two dukes, the english lords, the counts before named, and other chivalry, they all dined together like a troop, and were well and abundantly served from various rich and curious dishes. From dinner they proceeded to view the justs in the market-place, where all the windows round were filled with ladies splendily dressed. The lord de Vaurin won the prize this day. After supper, justs were again held in the great hall of the abbey of St Bertin, on small horses, when many lances were broken, and it was a fine sight to view.

On the morrow, which was Monday, were divers joyous entertainments and justings, in which the count de St Pol won the ladies' prize.

During these days, many presents were made by the princes to the officers at arms, for which they cried out several times, with a loud voice, 'Largesse!' naming such as had given them a present.

On Tuesday, which was the vigil of St Andrew's day, the duke of Burgundy commenced his feast of the Golden Fleece, by hearing vespers in the choir of the church of St Bertin, accompanied by his brother knights clothed in their mantles, hoods, and in the full dress of the order. Above each of the knights' seats in the choir was an emblazoned tablet of his arms; but there were many knights, not present,—and six had died since the last celebration of this feast.

On the morrow, St Andrew's day, the knights, in handsome array, went to church in procession; and it was wonderous to see the very rich ornaments of the altar, as well as of the choir, so that both English and French marvelled at the great state and splendour of the duke of Burgundy.

After the church service, the duke

seated himself at table in the midst of his knights, who were placed in the usual order on one side, and were abundantly well served. In the procession to and from church the oldest knight went last, according to the date of his knighthood.

On Thursday a chapter was held, for the filling up the vacant stalls, of those who were dead, which lasted a considerable time. It was there agreed on unanimously to offer a collar to the duke of Orleans,—and the bishop of Tournay and master Nicholas Raoullin, chancellor of Burgundy, were sent to him, to know if it would be agreeable to him to accept of it. When they had declared the wish o the duke of Burgundy and of his knights companions, the duke of Orleans replied, that he would willingly wear the order, in honour of his fair cousin the duke of Burgundy, and soon after entered the great hall,—whither came the duke of Burgundy with the knights-companions preceded by their officers at arms.

Golden Fleece, king at arms, bore on his arm a mantle and hood of the order,

and, on approaching the duke of Orleans sir Hugh de Launoy (who had been deputed for this purpose) addressed him saying,—My most excellent, most puissant and most redoubted lord, my lord duke of Orleans, you see here in your presence my most redoubted lord my lord duke of Burgundy, and my lords his companions of the order of the Golden Fleece who have unanimously resolved, in full chapter, to present to you a collar of the said order, as a testimony of your high renown, prudence and valour, which they humbly entreat you will be pleased to accept of and wear, to promote that fraternal love and friendship which at present exists between you, and that it may be strengthened and preserved.'

The duke of Orleans having replied that he would willingly wear it, the duke of Burgundy advanced with one of the collars in his hand, which he presented to him, and placed round his neck, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, and then kissed his cheek. The duke of Orleans then requested the duke would be pleased to wear his order, to

which he assented,—and the duke of Orleans then drew a collar of his order from his sleeve, and put it round the duke of Burgundy's neck.

When the duke of Orleans had been dressed in the mantle and hood of the order, he was led to the chapter-house to take the accustomed oaths, and to assist in the election of four other knights; but they were not immediately named, and none but themselves knew to whom the vacant collars were to be given. The greater part of the nobles were much gratified by this exchange of orders, and that so much unanimity and concord existed between these two princes.

Some days afterward, the chapter was renewed, and it was determined to present the dukes of Brittany and of Alençon each with a collar; and Golden Fleece, king at arms was ordered to carry to them letters from the duke of Burgundy and the knights-companions, to inform them of their election. The king at arms performed his message punctually; and the two lords received the collars with pleasure, giving him for

his trouble such rich presents as satisfied him.

When all these feasts were over, the lord Fanhope departed, with his attendants, from St Omer, and, by way of Calais, returned to England; but sir Robert Roos remained with the duke of Orleans, with the intent of accompanying him to the king of France, having been commissioned on an embassy to him by the king of England.

During these times, some of the principal inhabitants of Bruges came to St Omer, as they were very anxious for their lord the duke of Burgundy, in whose good graces they were not thoroughly established, to come to their town; for although a reconciliation had indeed taken place, he had declared that he would never enter their town again unless he were conducted thither by a greater lord than himself. The bruges men therefore, humbly solicited the duke of Orleans that he would out of his grace, request the duke of Burgundy to go thither, and that he would be pleased to conduct him.

The duke of Orleans granted their request,—and the duke of Burgundy having assented, they both made preparations for their journey to Bruges, where they were most joyfully received. The town of Bruges made such rich and grand preparations for the reception of the two dukes and duchesses that it exceeded all that had ever been done by them, and deserves a brief description.

When the inhabitants of Bruges learnt that the two dukes were approaching the town, all the magistrates with their officers and servants, together with the deacons, constables, and others to the amount agreed on, issued out of the gates, and advanced to an inn beyond the boundaries of the town called The Three Kings. They might be upward of fourteen hundred in the whole, and were drawn up on an open spot to wait the coming of their lord.

On seeing the duke of Burgundy advance by the side of the duke of Orleans they approached in good array with bare feet unhooded and ungirdled,—and throw-

ing themselves on their knees, with uplifted hands, most humbly supplicated him in the presence of the two duchesses and the whole company, to forgive them their past offences, according to the tenour of the peace.

The duke delayed some little to answer,—but, at the prayer of the duke of Orleans, he granted their request. This done, the magistrates presented him with the keys of all their gates, and then, rising up, retired aside to dress themselves. At this moment, processions from the different churches, as well as of the four medicant orders of friars, monks nuns and beguines, made their appearance, bearing their relics and dressed in their best copes. They were in great numbers, and, on hearing that their lord was now satisfied with them, chaunted forth lustily 'Te Deum laudamus,' &c. The greater part of them attended him to his hôtel.

All the merchants from different nations then resident in Bruges came out on horseback, most handsomely arrayed to meet the duke. On the other hand stages were erected at various parts where

he passed, on which were represented divers pageants. The streets, on each side, were hung with tapestries and rich cloths; and in respect to trumpets of silver, clarions, and other musical instruments, there were so many that the whole town resounded with them. There were also several pageants with figures of animals that spouted out wine and other liquors, for all who pleased to regale themselves. In short it is not in the memory of man that ever the inhabitants of Bruges made so magnificent a display, on the reception of their lord, as they now did.

When the duke had dismounted at his hôtel, he was waited on by the magistrates to give him welcome: having received them kindly, he ordered the governor of Flanders to return them the keys of their town which they had presented to him, saying that he had now the fullest confidence in them. This speech rejoiced them very much, and they all huzzaed. Carols had been sung through all the streets on his arrival,—and when night came, the houses were so well il-

luminated that the town seemed one blaze of light.

On the morrow, justs were held in the market-place: the lord de Vaurin won one prize, and the heir of Cleves the other. This last was supplied with lances by his uncle the duke of Burgundy. At the end of the justs, supper was served, and then dancings took place, to which all the damsels of Bruges were invited. On the ensuing Tuesday, other justs were held in the market place,—and the company supped at the house of the sheriffs, where they were splendidly entertained at the expence of the town.

On the Saturday, the count and countess of Charolois, daughter to the king of France, arrived from Charolois,—when the duke of Orleans, many nobles, the municipality of the town and several of the principal burghers, went out to meet them, and conducted them to the court-yard of the hôtel of the duke of Burgundy.

On Sunday, a variety of diversions took place; but it would be tedious to relate them all: suffice it to say, that the inhabitants exerted themselves in every

manner they could imagine from love to their lord and prince, and in honour to the duke of Orleans and those that were with them; they even made him handsome presents, that pleased him much.

On the following day, the duke and duchess of Orleans left Bruges, with their attendants, which caused many tears from the ladies and damsels of the household of the duke of Burgundy on taking their leave of her. They went to Ghent, whither they were accompanied by the duke of Burgundy,—and were there received with every mark of honour. After a few days stay, they departed thence, and were escorted out of the town by the duke of Burgundy. On taking their leave, they mutually promised henceforth to do every thing possible for each other.

The duke and duchess of Orleans went by slow days journeys to Tournay, where they had a very flattering reception. From the time the duke had returned from England to his quitting the duke of Burgundy, many lords, and others, had come from France, and elsewhere,

to welcome his return home, and to offer him their services, some of whom he retained in his service. Several even from the states of the duke of Burgundy had offered themselves, and were so pressing that many, as well gentlemen as damsels, were retained of his household, and in divers situations. Some knights and esquires had presented from eight to ten of their sons to him, for his pages, and about twenty-four companions from the Boulonnois, well mounted and equipped, were retained for his archers and body guards: in short, his retinue was increasing so fast, that when he arrived at Tournay he was followed by about three hundred horse.

In regard to his order, it was granted to such numbers of knights and esquires, and others of low degree, who solicited it,—and so few were refused, that it was quite common throughout Picardy. Many were desirous of attaching themselves to him in the expectation and hope that when he should have seen the king he would have the principal government of France, and that they might then be advanced by various means: he himself

also indulged this expectation. Some, however, more wise, thought otherwise,—and it happened as they had foreseen; for they said in secret, that it would have been more advisable in the duke to have made greater haste to wait on the king and with a smaller train of followers,—and they thought that those who governed the king, and had done so during all the troubles, would not suffer any but themselves to rule the realm, although the duke of Orleans was the next heir to the crown of France after the dauphin, and had suffered much for it; but, notwithstanding this, it has been long seen that violent quarrels and dissentions can exist between such great lords.

The duke of Orleans, on leaving Tournay, went to Valenciennes, and thence to Quênoy le Comte, to visit his fair cousin the countess Margaret, dowager of Hainault, who received him with joy. After she had made him some gifts, he went to the city of Cambray, where he received many presents, and the town also gave him five hundred golden French crowns. The duke had intended going

to St Quentin, on quitting Cambray; but some of his people gave him to understand, that he would incur a great risk to himself and his attendants by so doing,—that he would be obliged to pass through some defiles commanded by the castles of sir John de Luxembourg, who had not yet sworn to observe the treaty of Arras.

This was the cause that made him change his route; and he summoned some gentlemen from the Cambresis to aid him in the escort of his baggage. But had the duke been better informed of the state of parties, he needed not have feared sir John de Luxembourg for two reasons: first, because sir John was perfectly reconciled with the duke of Burgundy, and had even been at Bruges, where he had held many conferences with the duke of Orleans on his affairs, as well touching the lordship of Courcy as other matters of concern to both. Sir John had then left Bruges well inclined to the duke, and had offered to serve him, and do every thing for his interest that he should think would be agreeable to him; whence it may naturally be supposed, that he would never have

permitted any injuries to be done him on his road.

Secondly, because at the time the duke was at Cambray sir John was lying on his death-bed at his hôtel in Guise, and news of his decease was carried to the duke while in Cambray, which made him stay there two days longer than he had intended. He even requested the magistrates of that town to choose him for their governor, in the room of the late sir John de Luxembourg, and he would obtain the usual and necessary confirmation of it from the king of France. The magistrates excused themselves from compliance as well as they could, saying, they dared not to do it without the consent of their bishop.

The duke of Orleans, went from Cambray to St Quentin,—thence to Noyon, Compiégne, Senlis, and to Paris, where he remained some days. In all the towns he passed through, or stopped at, he was received with as many honours as if he had been the king of France or the dauphin. Every body was full of hopes and confidence that great consolation would

befal the kingdom of France on his return from imprisonment. The people more especially were rejoiced to see him again at liberty, for they had long wished for it.

It was the intention of the duke to hasten to the king as speedily as he now could; but he received such intelligence as made him delay it a considerable time; for a year or more. The cause of this delay was, that the king had been informed of the whole conduct the duke had held since his return from England,—of his oaths and alliance with the duke of Burgundy,—of having received his order,—how grandly he was accompanied —of his having admitted into his household numbers of Burgundians, who had formerly waged war against him and his crown. The king was also told, that these connexions had been formed in opposition to him and his ministers,—and that many great lords, such as the dukes of Brittany and Alençon, had joined the two dukes, with the view of forming a new administration,—and that henceforward his kingdom would be ruled

by them, or such others as they might please to appoint, and that he would be only allowed a decent establishment to maintain his state, without a power of interfering in the government but as it might be agreeable to them, and with their consent.

The king, who was ever inclined to suspicion, and to listen to such information, from the many plots that had been formed against him during his reign, readily believed what was now told him; but when he heard that the dukes of Brittany and Alençon had accepted of the order of the Golden Fleece, whatever doubts he might have had were strengthened. Those about his person repeated daily the same tales, assuring him that they were true, so that his suspicions were completely confirmed.

Notwithstanding that the king had ordered the duke of Orleans to come to him, telling the duke's messengers who had brought him the intelligence of his return from England, that he was very anxious to see him, he would not permit him to come (in consequence of the tales he had been told) but with a small re-

tinue; leaving behind all the Burgundians he had retained in his service.

The duke of Orleans, knowing the state of the court, and what had been told of him, went from Paris to Orleans, and thence to Blois, and to his other territories, where he was received with the utmost joy by his vassals and subjects, and many grand presents were made to him from these his possessions.

We must speak a little of sir John de Luxembourg count de Ligny, who as I have related, departed this life in the castle of Guise. His body was placed on a car, and carried, with every honour and a numerous attendance, to the church of our lady at Cambray, and placed on tressels within the choir. On the first night, vigils and funeral orisons were made, and he was watched until the morrow, when a grand funeral service was performed, and the coffin surrounded by a number of lighted torches held by his vassals. When this service was ended, he was interred without the choir, near to one of his ancestors called sir Waleran de Luxembourg, lord of Ligny and of Beaurevoir, as has been already told.

Sir John de Luxembourg had died without ever having taken the oaths of allegiance to king Charles, or to his commissioners, although often pressed to do it. Since the year 1435, when the peace of Arras was concluded, until the eve of Twelfth-day in the year 1440, when he died, he had kept such good garrisons in all his towns and castles that none of the three parties, France, England and Burgundy, had done his lands any damage worth mentioning. With regard to the English, they were very desirous of pleasing him, for he had not yet broken with them nor returned his bonds of alliance,—and they had great hopes of being supported by him, should there be occasion. In like manner, he considered them as sure allies against all who should attempt to injure him.

As to the Burgundians, there were few but were inclined to serve him; and although the duke of Burgundy was for a time very indignant against him, from reports often brought to him, yet matters were not pushed to open hostilities, and he had recovered the good graces of the duke.

The French, and particularly the captains of these marauding parties, feared him greatly,—for they knew how personally valiant he was, and that he had always a sufficiency of men at arms ready to resist all who meant to harrass his lands.

They also knew that if he could meet them unawares, on any part of his territories, he would destroy them without mercy. For these reasons, therefore, whenever they approached any of his possessions they were glad to give assurances, under their seals, not to commit any damage to his vassals or country. This they had frequently done,—and he was contented to leave them unmolested.

A short time, however, before his death, king Charles had determined in council to give him no farther respite from taking the oaths, and to raise a large army to conquer him, or at least to force him to take the oaths prescribed at the peace of Arras; but God, the creator of all things, provided a remedy, before it could be known what would have been the event of such proceedings.

Thus ended the life of sir John de Luxembourg, who was a valiant and en-

terprising knight, and much feared in all places where he was personally known; and he might be about fifty years of age when he died.

Shortly after his decease, one called Leurin de Moucy, to whom he had given in guard the castle of Coucy, surrendered it to the duke of Orleans, in consideration of a certain sum of money which he received and refused to put it into the hands of the count de St Pol, nephew and heir to sir John de Luxembourg.

The townsmen of Neel and Beaulieu, in the Vermandois, expelled their governor, Lionel de Wandonne and all the friends of sir John de Luxembourg, and admitted the vassals of the lord de Mongaignier*. But the rest of the towns and castles were placed under the obedience of the count de St Pol, by those who had the government of them.

* Mongaignier. Q. Montgaugier?

CHAP. XLIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE GOES TO TROYES IN CHAMPAGNE.—SEVERAL TOWNS AND FORTS SUBMIT TO HIS OBEDIENCE.—OTHER MATTERS.

KING Charles of France now assembled a very large body of men from different provinces of his realm, and ordered those captains of whom I have spoken as Skinners, to join him instantly with their troops. When all were collected on the banks of the Loire, the king departed from Bourges in Berry, attended by the dauphin, the constable of France, the lord Charles d'Anjou, and lords without number.

He marched to Troyes in Champagne, and remained there about three weeks. His men were quartered in the towns and villages in the open country round,—but the greater part were sent to Auxerre, Tonnerre, and to the borders of Burgundy, where they harrassed the country much. During his stay at Troyes, many towns and castles, which had formerly waged a

severe warfare against him, submitted to his obedience. He also put an end to the quarrels between the house of Bar and Lorraine and that of Vaudemont, and received into favour the heir of Commercy, and several lords on the borders of Burgundy, who had incurred his indignation.

Having finished these matters, the king went to his town of Bar-sur-Aube, whither came the bastard of Bourbon, with a large train of men at arms, whom he had long maintained in the field. On his arrival, he was instantly accused of treasonable practices against the king; and, after the affair had been examined into, he was tried, and condemned to be sewed in a sack, and thrown into the river and drowned, which sentence was executed. His body, when dead, was taken out of the river, and buried in holy ground.

It was currently reported, that this execution had taken place because that, during the quarrel between the king and the dauphin, he had joined his brother the duke of Bourbon with a large force, and had been the principal actor in separating

the dauphin from his father. It was also said, that on the failure of the expedition to raise the siege of Harfleur, where he had served under the count d'Eu, he had gone to St Omer, and offered his services to the duke of Burgundy, should he at any time have occasion for them, in compliment to the duke's brother-in-law the duke of Bourbon. This execution gave great alarm to many of the captains who had for a long time been under arms, on pretence of forming part of the king's army, lest they should in like manner be punished for their wicked deeds.

CHAP. XLIV.

THE ENGLISH IN THE CASTLE OF FOLLEVILLE* DO MUCH DAMAGE TO THE COUNTRY ROUND AMIENS.—THEY DEFEAT SOME PICARD LORDS AND THEIR MEN.

THE english garrison in the castle of Folleville did, at this time, much mischief

* Folleville,—a village in Picardy near to Bretueil.

to the countries round Amiens, Corbie, and in Santois, where they alarmed the town of Mondidier. They were about one hundred warriors, who kept the neighbourhood in such awe that most of the towns were forced to pay them monthly a certain sum as protection-money, and a stipulated quantity of wheat, to the great oppression of the poor farmers*.

They even made an attack one day on the town of Dours† on the Somme. In the castle was the lord of the town,—but, not having a sufficient force to resist them, he hastily mounted his horse and rode to Amiens, to demand succour. He found there the lord de Saveuses, the governor of Amiens, and many gentlemen and warriors, who unanimously agreed to accompany him in the pursuit of the English. They overtook the English near to Folleville, whither they were retreating

* This protection-money was well known on the borders of England and Scotland, under the name of Black Mail.

† De Dours. Q. Dourcha? which, in Bleau's atlas, is on the Somme; but I cannot find Dours, or Dourcha, in the Gazetteer of France.

in handsome array, carrying with them the immense plunder they had taken.

It was ordered, that the lord de Saveuses should lead the infantry,—and the lord de Dours, the lord de Contay, the lord de Tilloye, Guichart de Fiennes, and other gentlemen, should gallop up to the English, and cry out to them to halt and fight with their enemies on horse and on foot; but these orders were not observed,—for those on horseback, eager to engage their adversaries, made a full charge without waiting the coming up of the infantry, which turned out very unfortunately for them.

The English seeing the enemy approach, and being more numerous, formed two divisions, placing their horses in the rear, that they might not be attacked on that quarter, and defended themselves so valiantly that most part of the French were slain. In this number were the lord de Dours, Guichart de Fiennes, John de Beaulieu, and other noble gentlemen. The principal among the prisoners was sir Martel d'Antoch lord of Tilloye. The remainder escaped by flight,—not, however,

without having some of their horses wounded and killed from fatigue.

The lord de Saveuses, seeing the unfortunate issue of the day, kept the infantry under his command together as well as he could, and rallied some of the horse who were flying homeward. He marched them back to Amiens, very much afflicted at their ill fortune. Shortly after, by a treaty with the English, they obtained the naked bodies of the dead, to inter them in their own sepultures. Some of the relations and friends of the slain would have thrown the blame of this defeat on the lord de Saveuses, saying that he did not advance fast enough with the infantry to support the cavalry when engaged. He answered this charge by declaring, that as the infantry had been put under his command by the unanimous consent of the captains then present, he could not advance faster than he did without leaving his troops behind him.

CHAP. XLV.

SOME OF THE GARRISONS OF THE COUNT DE ST POL ROB THE KING OF FRANCE'S SERVANTS AS THEY WERE CONDUCTING WARLIKE STORES FROM THE CITY OF TOURNAY.—THE REPARATION THE COUNT DE SAINT POL MAKES FOR THIS CONDUCT.

DURING the stay the king of France made in Champagne, he had ordered some of his most confidential servants to go to the town of Tournay, and to Flanders, to purchase artillery and warlike stores, which they were to convey to Paris, to be ready in case they should be wanted. Those whom he had intrusted with this commission executed it faithfully; and having laden carts and waggons with the artillery and stores, conducted them without any hindrance through the territories of the duke of Burgundy, from the city of Tournay, until they came to a town called Ribemont*, where they

* Ribemont,—a town in Picardy, four leagues from St Quentin.

were stopped by the garrison in that place for the count de St Pol.

The chiefs of the garrison were John lord of Thorante, Guyot de Bethune, Hoste de Neufville, with several others, as well men at arms as archers. They robbed these servants of the king of France, carrying into the town of Ribemont the contents of the carts and waggons, which they there divided among themselves and wasted; but the whole of this conduct was without the knowledge or consent of the count de St Pol, who was much displeased thereat.

When intelligence of this robbery came to the king of France, he was very indignant, and swore that he would have ample amends for it; and that he would wage war on the count de St Pol, unless he made full restitution for the things stolen, and did homage to him for the lands he held within his realm.

During the king's residence in the town of Bar-sur-Aube, gentlemen came daily to offer their services to him,—and having staid there some time, he departed, through Châlons and Rheims, to the city

of Laon. Wherever he passed, he was received most honourably, and in the manner in which obedient subjects usually show to their sovereign lord.

From Laon he dispatched the greater part of his captains with their men,—namely, La Hire, Anthony de Chabannes, Joachim Rohault,—to make war on the towns and castles dependant on the count de St Pol. The count had heard of this plan, and consequently had reinforced his different places as strongly as he could, and had retired to the castle of Guise, in Tierrache, to be ready to succour such as might stand most in need of it.

It happened, that those of the garrison of Ribemont, whom I have before named, on hearing of the near approach of the king's army, were so much frightened, from dread of the French, that they suddenly left the town in the utmost disorder, and without waiting for each other, abandoning the command of it and the castle to the common people. This caused great confusion; and they mostly withdrew to Guise and other fortified places of the count, who was much en-

raged at their cowardice, more especially with those to whom he had intrusted its defence.

On this same day, or on the morrow, the French came before Ribemont, to whom, in the name of king Charles, was the town surrendered, and admittance given them. They found it full of wealth, and helped themselves to it at their pleasure; and Joachim Rohault entered with the rest, as governor of the place.

Shortly after, the French advanced to the town of Marle*, which they surrounded on all sides with their whole force. The governor in the town for the count de St Pol was a gentlemen diligent and expert in war, called George de Croix, having with him sixty combatants, including those of the town. He was regularly and often summoned to surrender the place to the king of France; but he always replied, that without the knowledge and consent of the count de St Pol, he would not yield it up.

* Marle,—a town in Picardy, five leagues from Guise.

The besiegers, in consequence, sent on their heavy artillery, and pointed many cannon against the walls and gates, which damaged them so much that they intended very soon to storm it. In the mean time, the count de St Pol, considering that it would be impossible for him to hold out against the power of France, especially as he had been told that he must not look for aid from the duke of Burgundy, began to turn his thoughts to the best means of appeasing the king, particularly as the principal gentlemen about him advised him, by all means, to negotiate a peace and remain in the quiet possession of his estates.

The countess-dowager, his mother, first opened the business, with others of his friends, who had a little before gone to wait on the king at Laon.—The count went also thither himself, and was graciously received by the king and the dauphin, and by the lords of the court. He shortly after requested and obtained from the king a suspension of arms between the army before Marle and the garrison, until a fixed day, when a treaty should be opened to accommodate the business.

A treaty was concluded, after the king had holden several councils, and after the count de St Pol had been heard in his defence. It was agreed, that the count should remain in the good graces of the king, on consideration that he did immediate homage for the lands he held in France, and also for those of the countess of Marle and of Soissons, his lady, in the usual manner in which homage was done by other vassals. He was likewise to place the town of Marle under the king's obedience, and deliver it to such commissioners as should be appointed, sending those now within it away. He was beside to give certain declaratory letters, signed and sealed by him, the contents of which shall be specified farther on.

When this matter had been finished, the king sent commissioners to take possession of the town of Marle: they carried with them passports for George de Croix and his men, who, on their departure, marched to La Ferté-sur-Oise, by orders from the count de St Pol. The commissioners on entering Marle, received the obedience of the inhabitants;

and having executed all they had been commanded, the town was, soon after, restored to the count de St Pol, with the king's approbation, on the same terms on which he had before held it.

The army now dislodged, and advanced further into the Vermandois, Hainault and Cambresis, greatly oppressing the poor people. The count de St Pol, after the conclusion of the peace, increased much in favour with the king and the dauphin: he was particularly beloved by the latter, whom he promised to serve faithfully, henceforth, in all his wars with the English. The count remained at Laon a considerable time; and before he quitted it, delivered to the council the declaratory letter before mentioned, the tenour of which was as follows.

'Louis de Luxembourg, count de St Pol, de Ligny, de Conversan, de Braine and de Guise, lord of Anghien and of Beaurevoir, and Castellan of Lille, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

'Be it known that I have promised, and by these presents do promise, on my faith and corporal oath, and under

penalty of confiscation of all my effects, full and entire obedience to the king our lord, and to all his officers, as well legal as civil, touching his finances, taxes, and other matters respecting his royal domains, and to put an entire end to all bonds of alliance in opposition to him that I may have contracted within these last twenty years.

'I also promise, by these presents, to make restitution to the king, or to whomsoever he may appoint, of what remains of the artillery, and other stores, that were taken from the king's servants, by the garrison of Ribemont, and what may remain of the king's horses and carts taken by those of Marle.

'I likewise promise to make answer in the court of parliament to whatever the king's attorney shall maintain and require from me, touching the succession of my late lord, the count de Ligny, my uncle, whose soul may God pardon! as well in regard to the personal effects of my said uncle, on the day of his death, as to the inheritances which have fallen to me as his heir in the countries of Ligny,

Guise, and elsewhere; and I hold myself bounden to obey whatever judgement that court shall pronouce.

I have, in consequence, fixed on the 15th day of July, at which time I hold myself adjourned to appear before the said court of parliament, to make my reply to the king's attorney, that he may instantly proceed thereon.

'I do promise generally, by these presents, to conduct myself toward the king my sovereign lord, in a manner becoming a loyal subject,—and that I will not suffer the smallest damage to be done, by any of my garrisons, to any of the king's vassals, or to his territories. I also promise faithfully to restore all I may hold that belongs to others on account of the war; and in regard to Montaigu, my full powers shall be exerted for its restoration.

'All these things I promise most strictly to perform, without the infringement of any one article. In testimony whereof, I have signed these presents with my own hand, and sealed them with the seal of my arms, this 20th day of April, in the year 1441.'

CHAP. XLVI.

THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY WAITS ON THE KING OF FRANCE AT LAON, TO MAKE SOME REQUESTS TO HIM.—OTHER MATTERS.

In the month of April, in this year, the duchess of Burgundy, daughter to the king of Portugal, waited on king Charles at Laon, honourably attended by knights, ladies and damsels. As her health was but indifferent, she was carried in a litter. The constable, who had married a sister of the duke of Burgundy, came out a league from Laon to meet her, and conducted her to the town, and to the king, who, as well as the dauphin and courtiers, received her with every attention.

After this ceremony, she retired to the abbey of St Martin, where she was lodged. She had several interviews with the king, respecting a general peace, and also respecting the duke of Orleans.

At this time, the castle of Montaigu was held by Villemet de Hainault, and

others that had belonged to the late sir John de Luxembourg, who had boasted that they would not surrender it to the king's commissioners without the consent of the duke of Burgundy. In consequence of this refusal, a large detachment had been ordered thither to reduce it to obedience, and, if necessary, to besiege it. This had, however, been delayed, in the expectation that an accommodation would have been brought about before the duchess should leave Laon,—who indeed had made many requests to the king, but few, if any, were granted her. Nevertheless, she celebrated Easter there, kept great state, and was visited by the nobles and other persons of note in the king's household.

In like manner was the king visited while at Laon by Jeanne de Bethune, countess of Ligny and viscountess of Meaux, who did him homage for her lands. The king was well pleased at her coming, and received her most kindly. She concluded a treaty, through her commissioners, respecting the personal effects which her late husband had left her,

which it was said were confiscated because he had died while an enemy to the king, and paid down for their release a sum of money: by this means she remained unmolested, and received letters patent confirming the agreement. During the time she staid at Laon, she was strongly urged to remarry with the count d'Eu,—but she excused herself from compliance. Soon after she had finished her business, she departed for her castle of Beaurevoir, and thence to Cambray.

During this time, persons came daily to do homage to the king, and to offer him their services, whom he retained, promising to be very liberal toward them,—for he was then occupied with a plan of raising a very large army, to combat his ancient enemies the English.

In this year, one of the esquires of the stables, named Dunot, was charged before the duke of Orleans with an attempt to poison him, at the instigation, as it was said, of some of the great lords of the king of France's household. He was closely examined, and severely tortured, and afterward drowned by night in the river

Loire. Little, however, was made public of the reality of the charges against those who had been suspected.

About this period, eight score pillagers from the household of king Charles went to a town in Hainault, called Haussy*, which had a fair castle, wherein they quartered themselves for three days. Many of the adjacent towns and villages, as well in Hainault as in the Cambresis, paid them protection-money to a large amount.

While this was passing, sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, assembled some men at arms in Quênoy, and advanced to attack them. Part of them instantly retired within the castle, which was directly stormed,—in the doing of which, an elderly gentleman of much note, called Lordennois d'Ostern, was slain. They capitulated with the bailiff to depart, on leaving all they had received behind, and to pay a sum of money down for liberty to march away in safety. Many of them were killed, that had not taken shelter

* Haussy,—near Quênoy.

in the castle. On their march toward Laon, they were met near the bridge of Nouvion, by a party of the count de St Pol's men, who robbed them of all they had, and slew the greater part of them beside.

[A. D. 1441.]

CHAP. XLVII.

THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY LEAVES KING CHARLES AT LAON, AND RETURNS TO THE DUKE HER LORD AT QUÊNOY.

KING Charles, having celebrated the festival of Easter at the bishop's palace at Laon, held several councils on the requests which the duchess of Burgundy had made, at the conclusion of which (as I have before said) few if any were granted. She was much displeased at this, and saw clearly, as well as those who had accompanied her, that the king's ministers were not well inclined toward the duke of Burgundy or his concerns.

Perceiving that her stay was no longer profitable, she took leave of the king, and thanked him for the honourable reception he had given her,—but added, 'My lord, of all the requests I have made you, and which seemed so very reasonable, you have not granted me one.' The king courteously replied, 'Fair sister, this has weighed on my mind more than you conceive, and I am much hurt that it cannot be otherwise; for, having laid the whole of them before my council, where they have been fully discussed, they have determined that it would be very much to my prejudice were I to accede to them.'

After this conversation, she took her leave of the king and the dauphin, and went to St Quentin with her attendants. She was escorted by the constable, and others, a considerable way. From St Quentin, she departed on the morrow to dine at the castle of Cambresis. While she was there, some of the king's men had entered Hainault on a foraging party, and were carrying away great numbers of cattle, sheep, horses, and other effects;

but they were sharply pursued by the duchess's men, who killed three or four on the spot: the rest saved themselves by flight, except two, who were overtaken, made prisoners, and carried to Quênoy, where they suffered death.

The duchess pushed forward to Quênoy, where the duke was, to whom she related all that had passed between her and the king and his ministers. In truth, the greater number of the nobles who had accompanied her were not so much attached to the french interest on their return as they were when they had set out, on account of what they had seen and heard while at Laon.

The duke weighed well these matters in his own breast, and considered with his council on the best means of securing his dominions, which seemed likely on the first fair opportunity, to be attacked. He had, however, about him many prudent and valiant men, who exerted themselves to the utmost to preserve peace and union,—and in particular, on the part of the French, the archbishop of Rheims, lord chancellor of France, was

very active to preserve the peace from being infringed. And although the duchess of Burgundy had left the king in an ill humour, there were daily communications between well-intentioned men on both sides, to bring to an amicable conclusion what differences might exist between the king of France and the duke of Burgundy.

CHAP. XLVIII.

THE FORTRESS OF MONTAIGU*, BELONGING TO THE LORD OF COMMERCY, IS DESTROYED, AND RAZED TO THE GROUND, BY ORDERS FROM THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY.

Sir Robert de Sallebruche, lord of Commercy, pressed the king of France and his council for the restoration of his castle of Montaigu; but this lord de Commercy was not in the good graces of the duke of Burgundy, whose indignation he had incurred by injuries done to his country and subjects. He would not

* Montaigu,—a town in Picardy, near Laon.

therefore consent that this castle should be restored in its present state, and insisted on its being demolished.

The towns of Laon, Rheims, St Quentin, and others joined in this request, because the garrison had made very oppressive inroads on all the country round. It was, therefore, concluded, with the king's approbation, that those within it should give security to the king for its due surrender in the beginning of June in such state, entire or demolished, as it might please the duke of Burgundy.

The duke instantly sent a numerous train of workmen, to destroy the castle: but, while this was doing, the lord de Commercy practised secretly to get possession of it from those to whose care it was intrusted by means of bribes. It was discovered,—and those suspected of being concerned were arrested, four of whom were beheaded: one of them was the governor of the town of Montaigu. In revenge for this attempt, the fortress was razed to the ground. It was seated very strongly on a high mountain, and the adjacent countries had suffered greatly from it.

CHAP. XLIX.

THE KING OF FRANCE LAYS SIEGE TO, AND CONQUERS, THE TOWN OF CREIL*.

WHEN the king of France had resided about a month in Laon, he departed thence, and went, through Soissons and Noyon, to Compiégne, where he tarried some time to wait for his army that he was raising to march to Creil.

Although William de Flavy, governor of the town of Compiégne, had obtained his pardon from the king for the death of the lord de Rieux, marshal of France who had died in his prisons, he would not appear before the king,—and, from fear of the marshal's friends, went off with the lord d'Offemont, for the greater security of his person.

The king was joined at Compiégne, by numbers from all parts of France, in obedience to his summons; and a few days after he quitted Compiégne, and went to Senlis, where he made a

* Creil,—a town on the Oise, and on the road from Amiens to Paris.

short stay, and thence marched his army before Creil, then held by the English. He fixed his quarters near the town, on the side toward Paris,—and the constable and other captains posted themselves on the opposite side, in front of the bridge.

Many skirmishes took place on their arrival; but soon after, when the king's artillery, that had been pointed against the walls and gates, opened their batteries, the fortifications were so much damaged that the garrison began to fear the event of a storm,—so that, at the end of twelve days, they desired to capitulate, which was granted to them.

They agreed to surrender the town and castle to the king, on condition of being allowed to march away in safety with all their money, and as many of their effects as they could carry on their backs. Having received passports, they marched out on foot through the gate leading to the bridge, taking the road toward Beauvais. Their commander was sir William Chamberlain.

On the departure of the English,

the king entered the castle,—and the other captains were lodged in different parts of the town. Yvon du Puys was appointed captain of the garrison.

CHAP. L.

THE KING OF FRANCE MARCHES TO BESIEGE THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF PONTOISE.

When the king of France had resided some days at Creil, he marched his whole army to Pontoise and arrived there about the middle of May. He was lodged in the abbey of Maubuisson, a noble convent having many fine edifices. His household was quartered there with him, and also the constable and marshals of France, namely the lord de Solignes* and de Lohiac: the other commanders were lodged in divers parts.

The artillery was soon brought to bear on a large bulwark at the end of

* Solignes,—Jaloignes.—Du Cange.

the bridge, opposite to Maubuisson*, which so much damaged it that it was taken by storm. From fourteen to sixteen were killed on the king's side, and many wounded: the English suffered nearly an equal loss. The king had this bulwark repaired and strengthened, and gave the guard of it to sir Denis de Chailly, and Michael Durant, with their men.

In another quarter, a bridge was thrown over the river Oise, opposite to the abbey of St Martin, which was surrounded by a low wall, and fortified like a blockhouse. The lord Charles d'Anjou and the lord de Cotivy†, admiral of France, took possession of it with three or four thousand combatants. A strong blockhouse was also erected at the end of this new bridge, for its defence. The French could now pass over the river at their pleasure, without fear of danger from the enemy.

While these approaches were carry-

* Maubuisson,—a convent in the diocese of Beauvais.

† Cotivy,—Coitiny.——Du Cange.

ing forward; the king was joined by great numbers of nobles and gentlemen, and likewise by the burghers from the chief towns, in obedience to his summons. In the number were six score combatants from the city of Tournay, all picked men, and excellently appointed. These were chiefly cross-bow men, and under the command of three persons of note in Tournay, namely Symon de St Genoix, Robert le Boucher, and John de Cour, who were most graciously received by the king. Numbers came from Paris handsomely equipped, and from all the other great towns; and, as they arrived, they were received by the king's officers, and suitably lodged.

Louis de Luxembourg, count de St Pol and de Ligny, who had been some time assembling his men, arrived before Pontoise about a week after Midsummer-day, with six hundred men well appointed and arrayed. As the weather was very hot, he drew up his men in order of battle near to the king's quarters, who, with several of the princes and others, came to see him and were greatly rejoiced at his arrival. The king feasted him much,

and was profuse in his thanks to him for having come thither with so handsome a company.

There came with the count de St Pol the lord de Vervins, sir Colart de Mailly, Louis d'Anghien, sir Ferry de Mailly, John de Hangest, sir Daviod de Poix, Jacotin de Bethune and his brothers, George de Croix, and many more gentlemen, who suffered much this day from the excessive heat; insomuch that one gentleman, called Robert de Frisomen, died of it.

After the king had reviewed them they went to lodge at a village hard by, and shortly after encamped with the besieging army. The count de Vaudemont came also thither with one hundred or six score combatants, with whose arrival the king was well pleased. In truth, there were at this siege most of the great lords of France,—such as the dauphin, the count de Richemont constable of France, the two marshals and the admiral, before named, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the counts d'Eu de la Marche, de St Pol de Vaudemont, d'Albreth, de Tancarville de Joigny, the vidame de Chartres, the

lord de Châtillion, the lord de Moreul in Brie, Poton de Saintrailles, the lord de Bueil, La Hire, the lord de Ham, sir Heincelin de la Tour, the lord de Mouy, Claude de Hangest, Regnault de Longueval, the lord de Moyencourt, the lord de la Suze, sir Theolde de Valberg, Anthony de Chabannes, Charles de Flavy, sir Giles de St Simon, Hugh de Mailly, Olivier de Cointiny, the lord de Pennesach, Blanchefort, Floquet, Broussach, Joachim Rohault, Pierre Regnault, the lord de Graville, sir John de Gapondes, Geoffry de la Hire, the bastard de Harcourt, and many others of great weight and authority,—so that, according to an estimate made by persons well informed, it was thought that the king's army amounted to from ten to twelve thousand combatants, the flower of his chivalry, each of whom was personally anxious to conquer the town and castle of Pontoise.

While the French were thus employed, the duke of York, the lord Talbot, and others of the english commanders then at Rouen, took council together how they could best relieve their companions

in Pontoise. It was resolved that the lord Talbot should first attempt to revictual it, and reconnoitre the position and appearance of the French. In consequence lord Talbot marched away with about four thousand fighting men, as well horse as foot, and had with him a long train of carts and cattle for the supply of the garrison.

After some days march, he took up his quarters at a town called Cheurin*, not far distant from Pontoise, where he lay two nights,—and, during that time, threw his supplies into Pontoise without hinderance from the French; for the king had determined in council to avoid combating the English, unless he could do so highly to his advantage.

Having accomplished this business, lord Talbot retreated to Mantes†, and quartered his men without the town: thence he returned to Normandy.

In the mean time, the artillery of

* Cheurin. Q. Ennery?

† Mantes,—capital of the Mantois, on the Seine, 19 leagues from Rouen.

the king of France, as well in the blockhouse of St Martin as elsewhere, played continually on the walls and gates of Pontoise, and damaged them greatly; but the besieged repaired them in the night, as well as they could, with beams of wood and old barrels; they also made frequent sallies, in which several were killed and wounded on both sides. The king was desirous of inclosing the town all round,—but could not well do it from the danger of an attack from the english army, and of his troops being cut off from succouring each other when thus separated; for he knew how near the enemy were, and in great force, preparing to make him raise the siege. It was from this cause that the French delayed surrounding the town closely on all sides. A large blockhouse was ordered to be instantly built in the forest of Compiégne, and floated down the Seine to Pontoise, where they would fix it as they should judge expedient,—and William de Flavy was commanded to see that this was immediately done.

Some time after, the lord Talbot

came a second time and revictualled the town, and supplied it with all sorts of stores in abundance. Each time, he took away those who had been wounded, leaving reinforcements, from his own men, and, as before, met with no interruption or opposition in his return.

The king, observing those measures of his adversaries, became very melancholy; for he saw no end to a siege when the town was so continually and uninterruptedly reinforced. Nevertheless, he was personally active in strengthening his leaguers, and in providing them with all necessary stores, in case the enemy should advance to attack them.

CHAP. LI.

THE DUKE OF YORK, GOVERNOR OF NORMANDY FOR THE KING OF ENGLAND MARCHES AN ARMY TO PONTOISE, TO FORCE THE KING OF FRANCE TO RAISE THE SIEGE.

The duke of York, commander in chief and lieutenant-general for king Henry in

the marches of France and Normandy, had assembled from six to seven thousand combatants,—among whom were the lord Scales, the lord Talbot, sir Richard Woodville, who had married the duchess of Bedford, sister to Louis de Luxembourg count of St Pol, and many other captains, then at Rouen, but whose names I have not been told. There were likewise collected a large train of carts and horses, laden with artillery and provision, together with a great number of live cattle.

The duke of York began his march about the middle of July, and in a few days, came near to Pontoise, the lord Talbot commanding the vanguard of three thousand men. The duke fixed his quarters at Cheuery*, half a league from Pontoise; and the van were lodged at Hetonville† where they remained for three days and reinforced and revictualled Pontoise most abundantly.

When this was done, the duke sent

* Cheuery. Q. Ennery?

† Hetonville. Herouville, near Pontoise.

to tell the king, that he was come to offer him and his army combat, if he would give him an opportunity. But the king was not inclined to comply; for his council had repeated the advice they had given on other occasions, that he woul act imprudently to risk his army and person against men of such low degree,—adding, that the battles that had formerly taken place with the English during his reign had cost him too dearly, and that it was more advisable to let them for this time run their career and guard the fords of the river, for that the English could not long remain where they were without danger from want of provisions for so large a force.

This resolution was adopted,—and many captains, with their men, were detached along the river Oise, even farther than Beaumont* and the king and the rest of his army remained in their quarters.

The English, finding they would not

* Beaumont,—a seigniory in the isle of France, near to Melun.

hazard a battle, resolved, if possible, to cross the Oise and advance into the isle of France, and even attack the king's quarters. They decamped therefore on the fourth day from their arrival, and marched in a body to Chanville-haut-Vergier*; but as they heard that all the passes on the river were guarded, they determined to execute their plan by night, and they had with them on carts small boats of leather and wood, with cords and other necessaries. They ordered a large detachment to advance to Beaumont, under pretence of their crossing the river and to make a prodigious noise, that the guards at the other passes might be drawn off to resist their attempt at Beaumont, while the remainder of the army should proceed silently along the river to find out a proper place to cross.

A place was found according to their wish, opposite to the abbey of Beaumont, whence the guards had gone; for all the soldiers near were attracted by the noise at Beaumont, as it had been planned by the

* Chanville-haut-Vergier. Q. Chambly?

English, who, when they saw numbers had been collected, pretended to make an attempt to force a passage, which was quite impracticable should any tolerable defence be made.

The other party of English now launched a boat into the river, and with difficulty three or four passed over, when, having fastened two strong cords to each bank with staves of wood between them, from forty to fifty crossed by this means, and instantly fortified themselves with sharpened palisades, as was their usual custom.

Now, consider the extreme danger the first party that crossed would have been in had only ten Frenchmen staid to guard this pass, who would easily have defended it against the whole power of the duke of York; and this may serve for an example to those who are intrusted with similar commands, never to place any guards but such as they know may be depended on, and such as will have a proper regard to their own honour,—for by neglect the greatest misfortunes may happen.

Shortly after, the men of Floquet, who had had this part of the river in charge, returning from Beaumont, whither they had gone on hearing the shoutings of the English, noticed them crossing the river, and instantly gave the alarm, along the banks, as far as Beaumont, where the greater part of their captains were quartered. They lost no time in mounting their horses, and hastened to where the English were, intending to combat them; but it was lost labour, for they were too numerous, although some skirmishing passed between them.

In these skirmishes, a very valiant man was slain, called William du Châtel, nephew to sir Tanneguy du Châtel, and with him two or three more.

On this bridge of cords the English conveyed over their baggage, carts and stores; and when the French saw that they could not prevent them, they retreated to Pontoise, to inform the king of what had passed, who was greatly displeased at the intelligence. Some of his council, being fearful of the event turning out more disastrous and to their greater shame,

had all the artillery and stores moved into the large blockhouse of St Martin, and made every preparation for immediately decamping with the whole army, should it become necessary.

The English, having passed the Oise at their ease, lodged that night on the spot, and there created some new knights,—such as the two brothers of lord Stafford, one of whom styled himself count d'Eu *. On the morrow, they dislodged, and marched in handsome order toward Pontoise, and were quartered in two villages. The king, on receiving intelligence of the approach of the English, was advised to remove his quarters from Maubuisson, and march his whole army to Poissy †, with the reserve of those in the great blockhouse, to the amount of two or three thousand combatants, under the command of the lord de Coetivy, admiral of France. He had also with him La Hire, Joachim Rohault, John d'Estouteville and his brother Robinet, sir Robert de Bethune lord

* See Dugdale's Baronage.

† Poissy,—in the Isle of France, two leagues from Meulan, seven from Paris.

of Moreul in Brie, the lord de Châtillon, the lord de Moyencourt, Regnault de Longueval, the lord de la Roche-Guyon, the lord de Moy in the Beauvoisis, and other gentlemen of renown.

Those who had been sent from Tournay remained there likewise, and great plenty of provision and stores of all sorts had been carried thither. The king, on his departure, had promised to relieve them so soon as possible. With regard to the bulwark at the end of the bridge, the French had abandoned it.

The duke of York continued his march to Maubuisson, but arrived after the king's departure. He found great abundance of provision and other things, which the merchants had not had time to remove. The duke fixed his quarters there, and lord Talbot at a town a league distant, on the Oise, between the towns of Pontoise and Conflans. They remained there for three days, and went into Pontoise by the bridge which the garrison had repaired, as well as the bulwark that had been abandoned, without any opposition whatever from the French;

and those of the town went in and out at their pleasure, without hinderance.

The French in the blockhouse were every day expecting and hoping for an attack, as they were determined to defend themselves well; but the English had no thoughts of risking the attempt, considering that their affairs were growing worse, and that they could not foresee the end of them. The enemy, however, threatened to attack them, but offered to let them march away in safety, with part of their baggage,—which, like men of sense, they ought gladly to have accepted of, since their king had abandoned them in such danger. But they had no such inclination, and replied, that they would not accept of terms, as they were not afraid of their attempts. While this kind of parley was going forward, several skirmishes took place, but more between the archers than with any others.

On the fourth day, the duke of York dislodged from Maubuisson, and marched to the quarters of Talbot, who had made a bridge over the Oise with cords and hurdles, on which full fifty

cars and carts crossed that river. On this same day, Poton de Saintrailles had left Poissy, accompanied by a numerous escort, with provisions to revictual the blockhouse of St Martin. He was followed by the constable, the count de St Pol, and other captains, to support him, should there be occasion. Having learnt that the English had recrossed the river, they sent orders to Poton to hasten his return,—but he sent back the messenger, to tell them to cross the river at Meulan, and return to Poissy on the other side, which they did.

The duke of York, having recrossed the Oise, advanced his whole army in battle-array before Poissy, wherein were the king of France, the dauphin, and the greater part of his nobles and captains. A very great skirmish took place, in which two of the archers of the constable, and one belonging to the count de St Pol, were made prisoners.

The duke thence marched to Tourtie sur Seine, and on the morrow returned to Mantes,—and the king went to Poissy and Conflans with a part of

his army. The constable, the count de St Pol, and others, passed through St Cloud to Paris, where they staid two days, and then retired with their men at arms into the isle of France, where different towns were delivered up to them for the quarters of their men, each according to his rank.

The king afterwards went, with his attendant lords, to St Denis, and remained there until the middle of August, when he returned to Conflans, and caused a bridge to be constructed over the Seine to an island in that river, and another bridge thence to the main land, with a strong blockhouse, and ditches round at that end, wherein he posted a body of troops. In the mean while, lord Talbot plundered the convent of Poissy, and carried away the effects of the nuns to Mantes.

Shortly after, the town of Pontoise was again revictualled, for the fourth time; and the men of the duke of York remained there in the room of the lord Talbot's, which vexed the king greatly,—for he saw but little hope of his accom-

plishing his enterprise. He thought, however, that should he depart without having gained Pontoise, after lying before it so long, and at such a prodigious expense, he would be disgraced, and the people would cry out against him and his ministers, more especially the Parisians, who had advanced large sums of money for this purpose.

He was likewise informed that the nobles of his realm, and even the princes of his blood, were much dissatisfied with his government, and that there was to be a meeting of them, which could not be meant for his welfare: he had, therefore, enough to think on. Nevertheless, he determined, with his most faithful advisers, to return to Maubuisson and prosecute the siege, which he did on the twelfth day from the time he had quitted it, and quartered his troops in their former situations.

Soon after his return, a grand skirmish took place with the constable's division, between Maubuisson and Pontoise, in which Claude de Hangest, lord of Ardilliers, was killed by a cannon-shot.

Various and frequent skirmishes passed between the French and English,—but it would be tiresome to enter into a detail of each: in one of them, the lord Charles d'Anjou was wounded by an arrow. Very little worth noticing took place in the main business of the siege.

The count de St Pol's men having been much harrassed, and having expended large sums of money, were desirous of returning home, and entreated of him permission so to do: upon this, he took leave of the king and the dauphin, who, on his going away, made him handsome presents, and returned him their thanks for the services he had done them.

The count de St Pol marched with his men from before Pontoise, to cross the river Oise at Pont St Maixence. At the entrance of the bridge, the captain of the fort came out to meet the count,—when, sharp words arising between them, the count would have seized the captain, had he not made haste to retire within his fort, whence he instantly discharged the cannon and cross-bows on him and his men. The horse of sir

Ferry de Mailly was killed under him by a shot, and another man at arms had his arm broken. The count retreated with his army and crossed the Oise at Compiégne, and thence returned to his own country. The garrison of the bridge before mentioned followed a party of the count's men who were marching toward Mondidier, overtook and pillaged them.

On the same day, the count de Vaudemont marched his men from before Pontoise, as did several other great lords, and left the king in the state you have heard, to his no small displeasure, although he did not suffer it to appear, for he could not help it; and he was forced to bear all things patiently which God was pleased to send him. He daily employed his cannon and other engines against the walls and gates of the town, and also against the church of our lady, without the walls, but possessed by the English, and held by them for a long time.

The walls of this church were so battered that, on the 16th day of September, the king resolved in council to storm it, which took place on a Saturday,

and all within were put to the sword or made prisoners. This church was very high, and so near to the town that from the top could be seen almost every thing the English were doing,—and they could be thence annoyed with small cannons, culverines, and even cross-bows.

The church being won, it was ordered, that on the ensuing Tuesday, a general storm should be made on the town, to see if they could not conquer it. This was executed; and on the Tuesday, the king and his lords, having well armed their men, urged them on with shouting, 'St. Denis! Town won!' A large party having forced an entrance, the townsmen fled to the churches and other strong places; but about five hundred of the English were soon put to the sword, and the remainder, to the amount of four hundred, made prisoners. Among the slain was an English knight called sir Nicholas Burdet,—but the governor of the town was taken prisoner. Only forty, or thereabout, were killed on the king's side at the attack, or died afterward of their wounds. Many new knights

were made on the occasion: among whom were the brothers, John and Robert d'Estouteville, Regnault de Longueval, le bon Roly, and others.

With regard to the person who first mounted the tower du Frice*, he was much praised by all for his valour, and was ennobled, himself and his successors, by the king, who also gave him large estates to support his rank. The king entered the town with those who had stormed it, and, on its being gained, issued his orders that no harm should be done to the inhabitants who had retired into the churches, excepting such as had borne arms. On his arrival with his banner in front of the great church, an Englishmen issued forth and surrendered himself to him. He was mercifully received, and not only delivered without ransom, but the king made him handsome presents. He entered the church, and devoutly offered up his prayers and thanksgivings at the great altar, to God his Creator, for the good success he had experienced.

* Du Frice. Du Fresche.——Du Cange.

The French sought day and night after the English who had hidden themselves, and put them to death or made them prisoners. Thus did Charles VII. king of France, reconquer his town of Pontoise by a most gallant attack, notwithstanding the many and severe skirmishes that took place before it. In respect to the nobles, as well knights as esquires, and other captains, who were there in great numbers, very many behaved themselves valiantly and prudently,—but I was told that sir Charles de Bosqueaux was much praised by all.

CHAP. LII.

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS RETURNS TO THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY FROM FRANCE.

The duke of Orleans this year returned from France to the duke of Burgundy, then residing at Hèdin—and who no sooner heard of his coming than he went out with a large company to meet him. The duke of Burgundy showed him every

mark of friendship, and entertained him handsomely during the eight days he remained at Hêdin, where he celebrated the feast of All-saints.

The two dukes held frequent and secret conferences on the state of their own and the public affairs,—and agreed to meet the other princes and nobles of France, who were shortly to assemble at Nevers. The duke of Orleans, on departing thence, passed through St Pol to the town of Arras, where he was most honourably received and entertained by the magistracy, who made him also rich presents. He went thence to Paris and to Blois.

The duke of Burgundy having assembled a body of men at arms, was escorted by them toward Burgundy. A number of the burgundian nobles came to meet him at Troyes in Champagne, when he dismissed his Picards, who had escorted him thither, with strict orders not to oppress or hurt the country or subjects of the king of France.

The fortress of the lord de Commercy,

namely, the castle of Montaigu, was a second time destroyed,—for the lord de Commercy had rebuilt it.

CHAP. LIII.

REMONSTANCES ARE SENT TO KING CHARLES OF FRANCE BY THE NOBLES ASSEMBLED AT NEVERS *.

THE nobles assembled having considered the four propositions made to them by the king's commissioners at Nevers, with the answers to each, then remonstrated on the necessity of a general peace for the kingdom of France, according to the terms the king had assented to; adding, that he ought, in order to avoid expense, to continue the negotiations at the usual place, without making objections to its situation, which were not of sufficient interest to hinder the conferences from being holden,—and they recommended that the appointment for the relief of Tartas † should also be kept.

* Nevers,—capital of the Nivernois, 17 leagues from Bourges.

† Tartas,—a town in Gascony, seven leagues from Dax.

CHAP. LIV.

THE ANSWERS OF THE KING OF FRANCE AND OF HIS GREAT COUNCIL TO THE REMONSTRANCES OF THE NOBLES OF FRANCE ASSEMBLED AT NEVERS.

WITH regard to the first point, it need not be noticed,—for it has not been repeated in the answers made by the nobles at Nevers to the lord chancellor of France, and to sir Louis de Beaumont, and others, deputed thither by the king.

Respecting the remonstrances for peace,—the king has always shown the sincerest wish to obtain so desirable an object by every reasonable and just means, and this the said nobles must have well known. Considering the very many advances he has made to this effect, he holds himself acquitted in this matter before God and before the world. It is notorious, that when the treaty of Arras was concluded, the king, by the advice of the duke of Burgundy, who was anxious to promote an union between the kingdoms of France and England, made

greater offers than was becoming him to the english ministers sent thither by their king to treat of a peace,—but which offers were by them refused. It seemed, therefore, just, to the cardinals who had been deputed by our holy father the pope and the sacred council of Basil, and likewise to the relatives and allies of the duke of Burgundy, who were there assembled in great numbers, that from the unreasonableness of the English in refusing such offers, the duke of Burgundy, was no longer bound in loyalty to them,—but that, for this and other causes, he was at liberty to quit their party, and unite himself in peace with the king of France, his natural sovereign.

Since then the king, at the request of the duke of Orleans and of the duke of Brittany, and with the consent of the duke of Burgundy, without whom he would never have listened to the treaty of Arras, nor to any overtures of peace with the English, although on their part some had been made, but simply to perform his duty, he sent a solemn embassy to the duke of Brittany to fix on a

spot for the holding of a conference between commissioners to negotiate a peace, from the kings of France and England, and whither the duke of Orleans was to be conducted. Cherbourg was the place appointed, although this conference never took effect.

The king again, at the solicitations of the duke of Orleans and the duchess of Burgundy, consented to another conference being held on the subject of peace, between Gravelines and Calais. To this place he sent ambassadors with full powers to treat, notwithstanding that Gravelines and Calais were far distant, and the last in the hands of his enemies. But this he did in favour to the duke of Orleans, who was to be brought thither,—for the king was desirous that he should be present at or near to the place of conference, to give his advice and opinion on the terms that should be proposed, considering how nearly connected he was in blood with the king, and also that he might endeavour to obtain his deliverance from England. Had it not been for these reasons, the king would never have as-

sented to the conferences being held at Gravelines.

At this conference, a schedule, containing many articles respecting a peace, was delivered to the duchess of Burgundy by the duke of Orleans, and which was transmitted to the king of France, then holding the three estates of the realm, to have their opinions thereon: but from the absence of the dauphin, whom it more immediately concerned after the king, as must be known to all, and of many of the great barons from Languédoc and Vienne, another conference was appointed to be held at Bourges in Berry in the ensuing month of February, and which the king proposed personally to attend, but was prevented by other important matters intervening.

Nevertheless, a solemn embassy was sent to this conference in the month of May, in compliance with the appointment of the said duke of Orleans and duchess of Burgundy, with full powers to treat of peace; but they remained there for the space of seven or eight months without coming to any final conclusions,—except,

indeed, appointing another meeting for the month of May in the year 1442, when the king again sent thither his ambassadors. Nothing, however, was done, through the fault of the English, who only sent a simple clerk, a very insufficient person to treat of and discuss such various and weighty matters.

The lord chancellor, in consequence of fresh overtures made him by the duchess of Burgundy, appointed another conference on the first days of this present month of May, at any place in the countries of Beauvais, Senlis, or Chartres,—which appointment the duchess made known to the king of England, but he sent for answer, (which letter she transmitted to the king of France) that he would not consent to hold any conference but at Gravelines, a place which the king had especially objected to. Considering that the king had consented to three conferences being held in places under the subjection of his adversaries, the English ought not to have refused meeting for once within his territories, where they might conveniently have assembled; and

the king had not consented to a congress so often meeting at Gravelines, except in the hope that it would expedite the deliverance of the duke of Orleans.

The king, notwithstanding, to show further his great willingness and anxiety for peace, has, through his chancellor, made known to the duchess of Burgundy, that he is content that another conference should be holden on the 25th of next October in the parts before named, either between Pontoise and Mantes, between Chartres and Vernueil, or between Sablé and le Mans, wheresoever the commissioners on both sides shall fix on as most agreeable to themselves for a place of meeting.

The king cannot propose any earlier day than the 25th of next October, for two very substantial reasons. In the first place, he should wish to be returned from the relief of Tartas, to attend this meeting in company with the princes of his blood, and such of the nobility of his kingdom as might choose to be present, more particularly the lords and prelates of Normandy, without whose presence,

and that of those before specified, the king will not agree to any negotiations being carried on; for they have most loyally served both him and his father, and have suffered so much in their cause that they are well deserving of being called to this congress, and having their opinions asked—and also because the negotiations for peace affect them more than any others.

Secondly, in regard to the ancient alliances still maintained between France and the kingdoms of Spain and Scotland, there must be time allowed for the king to send information thither of the time of meeting of this congress, to them and to their allies, that they may send ambassadors with their consents thereto; for, by the articles of alliance, neither party can conclude a final peace with England without their being parties, or at least consenting thereto,—and the king would not on any account infringe these alliances, which have been most advantageously maintained respecting France,—for the subjects of these respective king-

doms have done him and his predecessors the most essential services.

The king therefore most anxiously desires that these his reasons may be publicly known, (which all men must think satisfactory and reasonable for his acquittal toward God and man); and he declares his willingness that a congress should be holden at any of the places aforesaid, for treating of a general and lasting peace with his adversaries, who may have assurances of safety from our holy father the pope, the kings of Spain and Scotland, and their allies.

The king will make known these his intentions to his adversary the king of England, that he may send thither sufficient ambassadors. The king also requires from the duke of Orleans, the dukes of Burgundy and Brittany, and the duchess of Burgundy, who have exerted themselves in the business, that they also send proper notice of this conference to England, that efficient ambassadors may meet them to negotiate the terms of a peace on the appointed day; at which time the king will not fail to send thither

men of note, with full powers to bring this matter to a conclusion.

The king is desirous, at this moment, to open his mind fully to his nobles, as to those on whose attachment he depends,—being assured that they can only wish to support his honour and that of his crown,—and to those who are so nearly allied to him by blood, touching certain expeessions which the king has been informed were used respecting the terms of a peace. At the first conference, held between Calais and Gravelines, present the duchess of Burgundy and the cardinal of England, the archbishop of York said, that the whole english nation would never suffer or consent *usque in ultimo flatu*, that their king should hold any lands in homage, or dependant on other sovereign than himself, which expression would not accelerate a peace; for the king was determined not to concede any thing to the English but under similar terms with his other subjects and vassals, by doing homage and service. He will not that what has been gained or augmented by the valour and good

conduct of his ancestors should be thus lost; and the king cannot believe that any of the princes of his blood, or the gallant nobles of his realm, would suffer such act to be done, or consent thereto, considering the superiority and excellence of the crown of France.

In order that no blame may attach to the king respecting the non-accomplishment of peace, he will cause an account of the different efforts he has made to effect it to be drawn up and enregistered with a copy of this answer in his chamber of accounts, for the perpetual remembrance of what he has done.

Item, as the nobles have required that proper provision be made against the enterprises of the English in the countries of Chartrain and Beauce, prior to the king's departure for the relief of Tartas, the king will provide a remedy, and send thither the bastard of Orleans, whom these nobles cannot object to, with sufficient powers to resist the further enterprises of the English.

Item, as these nobles are soon to assemble at Nevers, and as their ambas-

sadors have notified the same to the king, requesting also, that as the king was contented that the duke of Brittany should there join them, he would be pleased to write again to the said duke of Brittany his consent to his meeting the other nobles at Nevers, sending him passports for his personal security, should there be occasion.

Item, the king makes known to his nobles by the lord chancellor and sir Louis de Beaumont, that he is contented with their assembling, in the hope of seeing them in his good town of Bourges, or in any other place, where he would have given them good cheer, and received them kindly as his near relatives, and discussed openly with them the affairs of the realm. With regard to the duke of Brittany going to Nevers, the king is surprised that any complaint or doubt should be made concerning it,—for the king was so well inclined toward him that, had he travelled by land, it was his intention to have invited him to pass through Tours and accompany him to Bourges, to meet the said nobles, if the duke could have done

so with convenience to himself,—otherwise, the duke might have thought that he had estranged himself from him. The king, nevertheless, sent the lord de Gaucourt to him with letters patent, which he has, and, should he travel by water through Blois and Orleans, to accompany him, that he might afford an opportunity to the duke to open his mind to him, as if the king had personally been present. But to write again to the duke of Brittany, to repair to the assembly at 'Nevers, does not seem to the king a proper or reasonable request,—nor is it very decent that the nobles should hold any meetings to treat of the affairs of the nation, except in the king's presence or by his commands. The king, on his return from Tartas, intends calling on them for their aid and advice, and to lead as large an army as possible into Normandy, as the surest means of obtaining a better peace, or with the aid of God and their support to recover his lost territories.

Item, in answer to their complaints of the want of justice being duly administered, as well in the parliaments as

in the other jurisdictions of the realm,—and their requests to the king that he would be pleased to nominate only such as have experience and knowledge in the laws, and that suitable persons be appointed to the different offices without favour or affection,—

The king has ever filled up the places in his parliaments with the most learned and intelligent lawyers he could find; and it now consists of the most experienced and of those most versed in the laws of the realm. At the solicitations of and to please the duke of Burgundy, the king has nominated twelve persons whom he recommended as judges in parliament; and when other lords have applied, the king has attended to their recommendations, and appointed such as were said to be fully competent to discharge faithfully the several duties of their respective offices, in the administration of justice throughout the realm.

Item, the king has been requested to shorten the proceedings of the courts at law, as well in respect to the subjects of these nobles as of all the king's sub-

jects, without partiality as in former times, and that indiscriminate justice may be had.

In reply to this request,—the king has been much grieved at the delays of the courts of law, and earnestly desires the due administering of justice with as little delay as possible, and will punish such as may act to the contrary. It is the king's intention to write to his courts of parliament, and to his other law-officers, that henceforth they abridge all suits at law more than they have hitherto done, and that they do strict justice to all without the least partiality.

Item, in respect to the complaints made to the king of the robberies, crimes, and abuses committed by many soldiers under the king's name, and calling themselves the king's men, whether they be the king's or the nobles' subjects, a remedy is demanded for such abuses, not by letters but by effectual measures,—and it has been remonstrated, that it would be proper that only those who are well known, and have loyally served the king, should have the command of these com-

panies of soldiers: likewise, that all soldiers should be well and regularly paid, and quartered on the frontiers, which they were not to leave and harrass the country people without being severely punished; that the king should only keep near his person those experienced in war, and not a multitude of indisciplined men; and that all of low degree, idlers, and ignorant of war, should be constrained to return to their trades and labour.

The king, in answer, says, that such robberies have always gone to his heart,—and he has made frequent attempts to rid the kingdom of such pillagers. With regard to quartering his soldiers on the frontiers, when the king was last at Angers, he had settled this business; but the new levies that have been raised have alone caused a renewal of these abuses,—and other causes have arisen to prevent the proper notice being taken of these pillagers, as was intended to have been done. The king, in consequence of the complaint from his nobles, will issue ordinances to put an end to them, and to dismiss all that are useless in war:

he therefore requires these said nobles not to countenance or support any one who shall act contrary to these proposed regulations.

Item, respecting their request to the king, that he would be pleased to take measures that the poorer ranks be not unnecessarily vexed or harrassed, from the excessive taxes that are now raised on salt and other articles,—the king replies, that he is extremely affected at the poverty of his people, for that his interest is connected with theirs, and it is his meaning to relieve them as soon and as much as he conveniently can. He last year put an end to the vexations they suffered in Champagne, and will not cease doing the same in the other parts of his realm as speedily as may be.

The king has also taken measures for the regular supply of provision and pay to the troops on the frontier, otherwise he knows what destruction and ruin will ensue to his subjects. But with regard to the excessive taxes which these nobles complain their vassals are aggrieved with, the king has shown far greater in-

dulgence to them than to his own; and it will be found that in the course of a year, when two taxes have been raised on the king's subjects, the vassals of these lords have paid but one, or that these nobles themselves have laid hands on the greater part of what should have been paid to the king. It is clear that the king must have the aid of his subjects for the support of the war and the maintenance of his crown and dignity.

Item, it has been advanced, that before any taxes be laid, the king should call together the three estates of the realm, to consult with them and have their opinions thereon. In reply to this: the taxes have been laid on the lands of these lords with their consent,—and, as for the other impositions, the king, when there has been an opportunity, has called them together, and shown them, of his royal authority, the urgent state of his kingdom, when great part was occupied by his enemies. There can be no need for calling the three estates to lay on taxes,—for this would only add to the expenses of the poorer people in

paying the deputies' charges for coming and going; and many lords of grea weight have, in consequence, required that such convocations should cease, and were satisfied that proper warrants should be issued in the king's name for the raising of these taxes. In respect, however, to the affairs of the nation, the king is bounden to consult with the princes of his blood in preference to all others, considering how much they are interested in its welfare,—and this has been usually done by the most Christian kings, his predecessors.

Item, the nobles have requested the king to preserve to them their prerogatives and authorities, which they hold, as well from their peerage as from the other lordships they possess within the realm of of France. The king in reply says, that he has never treated on any affairs of consequence without their knowledge, or at least that of the greater part of them,—and it his intention not to do otherwise. It is his pleasure, as well as his will, to preserve to them all their prerogatives and authorities; and in no way to act con-

trary to them: they will therefore govern their vassals and lands in the manner in which they are bounden to do.

Item, the king is requested that he would be pleased to select, as members of his great council, men of knowledge, fearing God, and who have not been partisans in the late disturbances; and likewise that he would be pleased to elect a sufficient number, so that the weight of the business of the kingdom may not be intrusted to two or three, as has been hitherto the case.

The king replies, that he has always selected for his council the most able men of his realm, without thinking on what may have passed during the late disturbances, which he has put clean out of his remembrance, and in such numbers as the state of public affairs at different periods may have required.

Item, the nobles request the king to receive favourably these remonstrances, in consideration of the four reasons already laid before him, which have induced them thus to make them. They also remonstrate with him on the case

of the lord duke of Alençon, required that he should be restored to his town of Niort, or that payment be promptly made him in money for the loss of it; that he should be re-established in his lieutenancy and pension; and that his place of Sainte Susanne, should be delivered up to him, together with an Englishman whom he had made prisoner, and that speedy and equitable justice be done him.

The king makes answer to these demands, that when he was in Poitou, putting an end to the pillaging and robberies that were going on there, and taking possession of several towns and castles the resort of the robbers, he was suspicious, that during his absence for the relief of Tartas, the town and castle of Niort would continue these evil practices as it had been accustomed to do, and consequently laid hands on it with the intent of paying its full value. But though the whole amount was not at that time paid, he had given to the lord d'Alençon six thousand crowns, with an engagement to that lord to make the remainder of the payments punctually at the time specified in writing, without

making any deductions for the rents which the lord d'Alençon had continued to receive since the first payment had been made.

In regard to re-establishing him in his lieutenancy and pension, when the lord d'Alençon shall conduct himself in a becoming manner toward his sovereign, the king will treat him as a relative and subject, holding in his mind the nearness of their kindred, and the services which he and his ancestors may have rendered to the king and the realm. This the king continued to do, until he was obliged to change his behaviour from the fault of the lord d'Alençon.

In respect to the place of Sainte Susanne*, the king has not given it to the lord de Bueil, nor is it held by him by the king's orders. The lord de Bueil is fully able to answer the lord d'Alençon's accusation respecting his holding this place wrongfully. Whenever the

* Sainte Susanne,—a village in Normandy, election of St Lo: or it may be a city in Maine, nine leagues from Mans.

lord d'Alençon shall appeal to the king's justice, it shall be willingly and duly administered; and in like manner shall he have justice done him in regard to the prisoner whom he demands.

Item, the nobles also made a requisition that the duke of Bourbon should have his pension restored to him, for that it was not excessive. The king repliedth at he had regularly continued the payments of this pension and nothing was now due. Of fourteen thousand and four hundred francs, the whole amount of this pension, the king had ordered nine thousand francs to be paid to the duke's servants at Bressure†, in the month of January last, but which they refused to receive; and the king wonders greatly how this matter has been, at this moment, introduced.

Item, they likewise mention the case of the lord de Vendôme,—and supplicate the king that he would be pleased to continue to him his former pensions, of which he has great need, as there were

* Bressure. Q. Bressolles? a village in the Bourbonnois, near Moulins.

not sufficient grounds for striking them off; and that it would please the king to permit him to exercise his office of grand master of the household, as he had usually done in former times.

The king answers, that he did not dismiss the lord de Vendôme from his household, but that he dismissed himself; and when the lord de Vendôme shall conduct himself toward the king in a proper manner the king will do on his part all that shall be thought right.

Item, the nobles beg leave to state the case of the lord de Nevers; and, considering how near a-kin he is to the king, and that the lord his father died in his service, and also the services the present lord may render to his majesty to solicit that all opposition to his establishing a warehouse for salt, at the town of Arcy-sur-Aube, may be removed, and that he may receive the accustomed payment of his pension.

The king makes for answer, that, notwithstanding the very heavy charges he is now at for the expenses of the war, out of favour, and in kindness to

the lord de Nevers, he consents to his having his former pension,—for the payment of which he will receive the protection-money of the Rethelois, as far as it shall go; and the balance shall be paid from the amount of the taxes on the lands of the said lord de Nevers, until he shall have received the whole sum. But the king is much dissatisfied that the lord de Nevers should suffer his vassals, and those of others, to overrun and despoil the country of Champagne, by means of the country of the Rethelois, to which they retreat, and expects that such measures will be taken to prevent it in future as will satisfy him. In regard to the salt-warehouse at Arcy-sur-Aube, the king wishes that the matter be laid before his court of exchequer, for them to decide whether the lord de Nevers be entitled or not to have a warehouse for salt at that place,—and whatever their decision may be, the king will conform to it.

The nobles remonstrate also on the case of the duke of Burgundy, not by way of complaint, but in the manner he

had desired them, namely, to make the king acquainted that many articles of the treaty of peace between them had not been fulfilled on the part of the king,—and that several were daily attempted to be infringed contrary to the intent of the peace, and to the great loss of the duke of Burgundy.

The king replies, that he always most ardently wished for peace with the duke of Burgundy, and to obtain it has nothing spared. The king has hitherto maintained the peace inviolate, and has the intention of ever doing so. For the better establishing of this peace, the king gave his daughter in marriage to the duke's son the lord de Charolois. As for the non-performance of some of the articles, the duke has seen what weighty affairs the king has had on his hands to prevent its being done,—but he has the will and inclination to have the remaining articles fulfilled as speedily as he possibly can, and in such wise that the duke of Burgundy shall be satisfied. As for the daily attempts to infringe the peace, the king is perfectly ignorant of

any such being made, for he has never given the least encouragement to them, but the king has great cause for grief at the business which is now carrying forward.

When the ambassadors from the nobles had remained some days at the king's palace, where they were very honourably entertained, and had discussed at length the subjects of complaint in the remonstrance they had brought, as well as the answers thereto from the king as well in writing as verbally, they took leave, and returned to their lords.

The king however, was very uneasy at his nobles thus assembling without his being present,—for they were daily attended by some of the greatest lords in the realm; and his ministers reported to him, that these meetings were not for his welfare; that the nobles were endeavouring to gain to their party the barons of his realm, the churchmen, and the common people, to make great reforms, and to place the government of the kingdom in the three estates,—which

must turn out to his destruction; for, if they succeeded in their plans, he would possess no other authority than the three estates should be pleased to allow him. The king said, that he could not believe that his nobles would be desirous to do any thing to his prejudice, or to the prejudice of his crown,—and more especially that the duke of Burgundy, with whom he had so lately made peace would interfere or consent to any thing so destructive to the royal authority. He added, that if he were assured they intended to bring forward such measures to his prejudice, he would lay all other matters aside, and instantly attack them with his forces.

[A. D. 1442.]

CHAP. LV.

KING CHARLES ASSEMBLES A LARGE BODY OF MEN AT ARMS, AND MARCHES THEM TO TARTAS, WHERE, HOWEVER, THE ENGLISH DO NOT APPEAR.

At the beginning of this year, the king of France issued his summonses throughout his realm, for the assembly of a very large force to carry on his warlike enterprises, and to relieve the town of Tartas, whither he intended marching in consequence of a time being fixed for its surrender, unless relieved by the king. He was determined now to have the greatest army that had been raised during his reign: indeed, there was much necessity for it,—for, had he neglected this business, he ran great risk of losing all Gascony and Guienne, and the obedience of the greater part of the lords in those countries.

This army was collected with all diligence in the different parts of the kingdom, and ordered to march by various roads, and rendezvous at Toulouse. The day of relief had been fixed for the first of May,—but at the request of the english captains who had signed the capitulation at Tartas, it was prolonged to the ensuing feast of St John Baptist, and during this time, the king continued his preparations.

At length, the king marched from Toulouse,—and for a truth, when he, his great lords and all the captains, with their men, were assembled, there were four score thousand horse, and carts and cars without number to carry artillery, provision, and stores of all descriptions. Almost all the principal nobility came thither,—among whom were the dauphin, the count de Richemont constable of France, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the count d'Eu, the count de Foix, the viscount de Helman*, son to the count d'Armagnac, the lord d'Albreth, the count de Comminges, the two

* Helman. Lomaigne.——Du Cange.

marshals, namely, the lords de Lohéac and de Jaloignes, who commanded the vanguard with the constable, the lord de Coetivy admiral of France, the lord de Villars, the lord de Mongascon, the lord de St Priath, the lord de Chalenton*, the lord de St Valier, the lord de Videmont and many more great lords.

The king was also accompanied by numbers of adventurous men at arms, the flower of french chivalry, who had for a long while followed warlike enterprises,—such as La Hire, Poton de Saintrailles, Anthony de Chabannes, Olivier de Coetivy, the lord de Blainville, and his brother sir Robert Blanchefort, Pennesach†, Floquet, Joachim Rohault, Pierre Rohault, Mathelin de l'Escouan, Dominic de Court, and many others of renown.

On the king's arrival at Toulouse, he was informed by the lords of Gascony, that the English were not in force sufficient to oppose him on the day appointed for the relief of Tartas. Having

* Chalenton. Chalencon.——Du Cange.

† Pennesach. Vennensach.——Du Cange.

called a council, it was therefore determined to advance thither with only part of the army, that they might more easily obtain provisions. The king marched from Toulouse with but sixteen thousand horse,—among whom, however, were most of the lords and captains above named. He was lodged at a small town called Meillan*, two leagues from Tartas, belonging to the count d'Albreth, but in the possession of the count de Foix, and his men were quartered round about.

On the morrow, which was the day fixed on for the surrender of Tartas unless relieved by the king of France, the king drew up his men in battle-array before the town, and thus remained from early morn until ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon,—when the lords de Coignac and Enguerrot de Sainct Per, who had the command of the place appeared before him, and brought with them the young Charles d'Albret, who had remained in the town as an hostage.

* Meillan,—a small town in Gascony, near Tartas.

They surrendered the keys of Tartas into the king's hands,—and at the same time, the lord de Coignac did him homage, but Enguerrot retired to the city of Dax. The lord d'Albret now entered Tartas,—and the king went to sleep at Coignac, which is a pretty good town, about two leagues distant from Tartas, where he remained on St John's day and the ensuing one.

CHAP. LVI.

THE KING OF FRANCE, AFTER GAINING TARTAS, COMES BEFORE SAINT SEVERE, AND CONQUERS THAT TOWN AND CASTLE, WITH SOME OTHERS IN GASCONY.

On the Wednesday following the surrender of Tartas, the king of France marched his army before the town of Saint Severe*, whither, as it was very strongly fortified with five bastions, the whole country had withdrawn with their cattle and

* Saint Severe,—near to Coignac.

effects. The dauphin's men, on their arrival, made an attack on two of these bastions with such success that they gained them, and lodged themselves therein.

Within a few days, another was won by the king's division, who ordered an immedite attack on the fourth: the English made a vigorous defence, but were driven thence, and pursued as far as the gate of the principal bastion. The French continued their attacks on this place, without having had any orders from the king or his captains,—and they lasted for a long time with great valour on both sides; but at length the French gained the victory, and conquered the place by storm, putting to death about eight hundred English, with the loss of from twenty to thirty of their own men, but in that number was the little Blanchefort.

The town was won on the side where the constable attacked it, when on the part of the English, sir Thomas Rampstone and a few more were made prisoners. The king after this conquest,

remained there for twelve days, and thence marched to besiege the town of Dax, which occupied him for the space of five weeks, as there was a stroug fortification in front of one of the gates. When the battering cannon had partly demolished the walls of the town, orders were given for storming this fortification which held out most obstinately for five hours, but was at last won about night-fall. Ten or twelve English were killed and very many of the French wounded.

The king withdrew his men after this event, with the exception of those who had the guard of it. On the ensuing day, the townsmen of Dax, fearing that a stronger attack would now be made on their town, surrendered themselves to the king except the lord de Montferrand, governor of the town for the English, and the before-mentioned Enguerrot de St Per, who were permitted to march out in safety, but with staves in their hands.

The lord de Montferrand also promised to surrender into the king's hands two castles which he held near to Bour-

deaux,—for the due performance of which he gave his son in hostage. He remained a prisoner a long time, because the lord de Montferrand, refused to keep his promise of surrendering these two castles.

Gascony and Guienne were at this time governed, for the king of England by the captal de Buch, the lord de Montferrand and sir Thomas Rampstone, seneschal of Bourdeaux. In the absence of the king of France, the English reconquered the town and castles of Saint Severe; but the king shortly after, marched back his army thither, retook it by storm, and put numbers of English to death. At this time, all the towns and castles of the lord de la Rochetaillade turned, and did homage to the king of France.

The king of France next marched to Marmonde*, which opened its gates to him, and thence to La Réole†. It

* Marmonde,—a town on the Garonne, between Bourdeaux and Toulouse.

† La Réole,—on the road between Bourdeaux and Toulouse.

was vigorously besieged, and the town was taken by storm; but the castle held out for about six weeks, when it surrendered on the garrison being allowed to march away in safety. Olivier de Cointiny was appointed by the king governor of this and of other places that had been conquered in the course of the expedition. The baron of Dax commanded in La Réole for the king of England, —but he afterward turned to the french interest.

While these conquests were making, the English much distressed the French particularly by encouraging their peasantry to harrass their scouting parties, so that, from the multitudes in the french army they frequently suffered famine. Great numbers of their horses died; a severe loss to those adventurers who had been accustomed to keep the field all the year round. Many of them, in consequence, quitted the army in search of provision for themselves and horses, and advanced as far as Navarre, where they committed all sorts of mischief on the poor farmers.

In another quarter, the English collected a body of men, and through friends in the town, regained the city of Dax from the French. The governor, Regnault Guillaume le Bourguignon, was made prisoner, and most part of his garrison put to the sword. The king of France was much vexed at thus loosing a place, through the neglect of the governor, which had cost him so long a time and such an expense to conquer.

When the king of France had remained for seven or eight months in Gascony, where he had made such valuable conquests, he considered the dreadful state of his army, and the danger it was daily exposed to from want of provision, and resolved to direct his march toward Montauban. He staid at Montauban about two months, whence he issued his orders for the defence of the country, and then, by slow marches, returned to Poitiers.

Shortly after the king had left Montauban, La Hire, who had suffered extremely in this expedition, and was advanced in years, died in the castle of that town. The king on hearing of his

death, was much affected, and ordered that his widow should possess the lands he had given to him for his life.

CHAP. LVII.

PIERRE DE REGNAULT IS FORCED TO DISLODGE FROM THE CASTLE OF MAILLY *.

I HAVE before noticed how Pierre de Regnault had taken possession of the castle of Mailly, two leagues distant from Beauvais, which he had repaired and refortified. He had with him about two hundred determined combatants, with whom he overran the countries round, seizing and carrying off to his fort all he could find, as well from those dependant on the king of France as from others. He overran, in particular, the dependances of the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Estampes, and other great lords of that party: he even at times crossed the river Somme, and advanced into Artois, twelve or fifteen leagues from his castle. He acted in like

* Mailly,—a town in Picardy, near Peronne.

manner within the castlewicks of Peronne, Roye, and Mondidier, where he made some capital prisoners, who paid large sums for their ransoms, just the same as an enemy would have done in time of war, so that the country was grievously harrassed,—and heavy complaints were made frequently to the superior lords, who were much vexed at this conduct. The duke of Burgundy at last sent to remonstrate with the king of France on this destruction of his country, and to require that a remedy be applied.

The king gave a similar answer to what he had done before: that he was much concerned at what had happened, and would be well pleased if the duke should conquer Pierre de Regnault whenever he found him marauding on his territories, or that he would besiege him in his castle of Mailly, and drive him thence; that he would send positive orders to all his captains in that part of the country not to give him the smallest aid against the troops of the duke of Burgundy, under pain of incurring his highest indignation.

The duke was satisfied with this answer, and began to arrange his plans accordingly. He concluded a treaty with some of the english captains on the frontier of Normandy, that they should give security not to molest his men nor aid the enemy; and when he was assured that neither French nor English would take part against him in this business, he sent orders from Burgundy, where he then was, to the count d'Estampes, who had the government of Picardy, to collect as many men as he could raise, and march against the castle of Mailly. The count on this made great diligence, and assembled in a short time twelve hundred combatants, knights, esquires, and others, the most expert warriors in Picardy and in the adjoining parts. In the number were Waleran de Moreul, Guy de Roye, Jean d'Ange, the lord de Saveuses, Simon de Lalain, Jean de Haplaincourt, Charles de Rochefort, sir Colart de Mailly, and many more great lords and gentlemen.

The rendezvous was in the town of Amiens, whence they marched with a

numerous train of artillery, stores, and baggage, to Beauvais. The count and great lords were handsomely received in that town, and their men were quartered in the villages round. The count d'Estampes lost no time in advancing to the castle of Mailly, and posted his men as near as he could to the gate, the strongest part of the castle, and to the lower court, which had been newly strengthened with casks and beams of timber. The garrison defended themselves courageously with cannons and other engines of war, and killed many of the count's men: among the slain was sir Matthew de Humieres. The besiegers had left the greater part of their horses in the town of Beauvais, whence and from Orleans they were daily supplied with provision.

When the artillery had made a breach in the walls of the lower court, a general and very sharp assault was made, in which great prowess was displayed on both sides; but the lord de Saveuses and his men gained the most renown. The besieged defended themselves with such obstinacy that the count, finding the con-

quest would be attended with too much loss, ordered a retreat, leaving behind from eight to ten dead: of the besieged, only a few were wounded.

The besieged, perceiving that they could not hold out much longer, and that they had no great hopes of succour, capitulated with the commissaries of the count to surrender the place, on being allowed to march away in safety with their arms and baggage. On the surrender of the castle, it was set on fire, and razed to the ground, and the count marched his army during Passion-week to the places they had come from. This siege of Mailly had lasted upwards of three weeks,—and the whole country that had been laid under contributions by the garrison were greatly rejoiced when it was known for certain that the castle was demolished and the garrison driven thence.

[A. D. 1443.]

CHAP. LVIII.

THE KING OF FRANCE ASSEMBLES A LARGE ARMY TO MARCH INTO NORMANDY.—THE EARL OF SOMERSET* MAKES SOME CONQUESTS FROM THE FRENCH IN ANJOU AND ELSEWHERE.

At the beginning of this year, the king of France assembled a numerous body of men at arms, with the intent of marching them into Normandy the ensuing summer to relieve Dieppe, which was hardly pressed by a very strong block-house the English had raised against it.

* John earl of Somerset succeeded to the earldom of Somerset in 1443: he was created duke of Somerset and earl of Kendal, &c. in the 21st year of Henry VI. Dying without male issue, he was succeeded by his brother Edmund, earl of Mortain, in Normandy, and marquis of Dorset. He was slain at the battle of St Alban's.

See Collins' Peerage,—Scudamore Beaufort,—and also sir William Paston's letters, wherein are many curious particulars relating to him. Sir William married into that family.

The king meant, under escort of this succour, to revictual the town; and consequently the men at arms conducted thither numbers of cattle and other stores, which they drove forcibly into the town, notwithstanding the severe skirmishes that took place, when many were killed and wounded on both sides.

About this time, the earl of Somerset had collected a body of six thousand combatants, or thereabout, and marched them into the province of Anjou, committing great waste with fire and sword; after which, he advanced toward Brittany, and took by storm La Guerche*, belonging to the duke of Alençon, which town was plundered by the English. He thence advanced to Ponsay†, where he remained upwards of two months, but detached parties of men, who overran the countries of Anjou, Touraine, and near to Chartres, where at times they were attacked and defeated by peasants.

The marshal de Lohéac had the defence of this part of the kingdom in-

* La Guerche,—a town in Brittany, near Vitré.

† Ponsay, Pouencé.—Du Cange.

trusted to him by king Charles, and to oppose the English with the men of the duke of Alençon. They formed a plan to attack the English camp by night; but the earl of Somerset, having had intelligence thereof, advanced to meet them, and fell on them unawares. The French were thrown into confusion, and from twenty to thirty were killed or taken: the rest saved themselves by flight as well as they could. Among the prisoners were the lord d'Assigny, Louis de Beuil, and many other gentlemen.

The earl of Somerset now dislodged from before Pouencé, and took the castle of Beaumont le Vicomte*. Having posted garrisons along the frontier, he returned to Rouen.

* Beaumont-le-Vicomte,—a town in Maine, near Fresnay.

CHAP. LIX.

SOME KNIGHTS AND GENTLEMEN OF THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY'S COURT HOLD A TOURNAMENT NEAR TO DIJON.

DURING the duke of Burgundy's residence in that duchy, several gentlemen of his household, with his permission, and for his amusement, had it proclaimed throughout Burgundy, and in other countries, that if there were any men of name desirous of gaining honour and renown by deeds of arms, there were gentlemen, whose names shall be presently declared, who offered to receive and furnish them with arms, suitable for the enterprise. The challenges shall likewise be mentioned that were dispersed through divers countries for this purpose, by sir Pierre de Bauffremont lord of Chargny, who was the chief of the enterprise.

CHAP. LX.

THE CHALLENGES FOR THIS TOURNAMENT AND THE NAMES OF THE CHAMPIONS.

'In honour of our Lord, and of his most glorious mother, of my lady Sainte Anne, and of my lord St George, I, Pierre de Bauffremont lord of Chargny, of Monliet and of Montfort, knight, counsellor and chamberlain, to the most high, most puissant and excellent prince the duke of Burgundy, make known to all princes, barons, knights and esquires, without reproach, with the exception of those of the kingdom of France and of the countries in alliance, or subjects to my said sovereign lord, that for the augmentation and extension of the most noble profession and exercise of arms, my will and intention is, in conjunction with twelve knights, esquires and gentlemen, of four quarterings, whose names follow,—Thibault lord of Rougemont and Mussy, sir William de Bresremont lord of Sees and of Sonnegnon, William de Brene lord of Mombis and of Gilly, John lord of Valengon, John lord of

Rap and of Tirecourt, William de Champdivers lord of Chevigny, John de Chiron lord Rancheineres, Anthony de Vaudray, lord of Aille, William de Vaudray lord of Collaon, James de Challant lord of Ainville, sir Amey lord of Espirey, and John de Chavigny,—to guard and defend a pass d'armes, situated on the great road leading from Dijon toward Exonne, at the end of the causeway from the said town of Dijon, at a great tree called the Hermit's Tree, in the form and manner following.

'In the first place, two shields (one black, besprinkled with tears of gold,—the other violet, having tears of sable,) shall be suspended on the tree of the hermit, and all those who shall, by a king at arms or pursuivant, touch the first shield, shall be bounden to perform twelve courses on horseback with me, or with one of my aforesaid knights or esquires, with blunted lances.

'Item, if either of the champions, during their twelve courses, be unhorsed by a direct blow with the lance on his

armour, such person, thus unhorsed, shall present to his adversary a diamond of whatever value he please.

'Item, the champions may arm themselves according to their pleasure, double or single, but without any wicked intentions, having their rest similar to the usual custom in war.

'Item, each person shall make provision of lances,—but the rondelle, which lies on the hands, shall be only four fingers broad, and no more.*

'Item, the lances shall be all of similar length, from the point to the rest.

'Item, for the accomplishment of these feats of arms on horseback, I will supply all who may come without lances, precisely like to my own and to those of my companions.

'Item, these deeds of arms on horseback shall be performed *à la toille*, which shall be six feet high.'

* This article I do not understand. In the original it is *tondelle*,—altered by Du Cange to *rondelle*, which is translated by Cotgrave, 'a small target;' but four fingers wide would be too insignificant for any defence. I have, therefore, left it for better antiquaries to explain.

CHAP. LXI.

HERE FOLLOW THE ARTICLES FOR THE DEEDS OF ARMS ON FOOT.

'THOSE princes, barons, knights and esquires, of the rank before mentioned, who shall rather take their pleasure in performing feats of arms on foot, shall touch the violet shield, and shall perform fifteen courses with battle-axes or swords, as may be most agreeable to them.

'Item, if, during these courses, any champion shall touch the ground with his hand or knees, he shall be bounden to present his adversary with a ruby of whatever value he please.

'Item, each champion shall be armed with the accustomed armour for combating in lists.

'Item, should any person be unprovided with battle-axe or sword, I will furnish him with the same, similar to my own or to those of my companions. These axes and swords are not to have

any thing extraordinary in their make, but such as are usual in these kind of combats.

'Item, he that shall have engaged himself to fight with me, or either of us, and shall throw the other to the ground, the person so thrown shall be obliged to surrender himself a prisoner whithersoever the conqueror shall order him.

'Item, the person thus made prisoner shall pay for his immediate ransom, to whomsoever the conqueror shall direct, any sum above five hundred crowns.

'Item, foreigners need not seek for particulars from me, or from my companions, for they will find persons ready to deliver such at the usual hours and places.

'Item, no stranger will be permitted to enter the lists with me or with any one of my companions, for more than one course at arms, namely, once on horseback and once on foot,—and no one can require more of any of us during the present undertaking.

'Item, the aforesaid feats of arms, on horseback and on foot, shall be performed on the following days: those on

horseback on Mondays, Tuesdays, and Wednesdays,—those on foot, Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays.

'Item, this pass d'armes shall commence on the first-day of July, in the year 1443, and shall last forty days, exclusive of feast-days and Sundays, and the feasts commanded to be kept by the court of Rome.

'Item, no prince, baron, knight or esquire shall pass within a quarter of a league of the spot assigned for these combats without entering the lists and taking part, or otherwise leaving as pledges his sword or spurs according to his pleasure.

'Item, for the accomplishment of these feats of arms, as well on horseback as on foot, according to the articles above specified, I have most humbly supplicated and entreated my aforesaid sovereign lord, that he would grant me his licence and permission to perform them, which he has most benignantly assented to. He has likewise most graciously appointed, as judge of the lists, that puissant prince and my most redoubted lord the count of Nevers and of Rethel,—and, in his ab-

sence, the lord marshal count of Fribourg and of Neufchâtel.

'In order that this my intention of performing these deeds of arms in the manner before specified may be more fully declared, I have affixed my seal to these presents, and signed them with my own hand, this 8th day of March, in the year 1442.

'Item, I beseech all princes, barons, knights and esquires, not to construe this my intention as proceeding from any presumption on my part; for my sole motive is to exalt the noble profession of arms, and to extend the exercise of it,—and also to make acquaintance by arms with such renowned and valiant princes and nobles as may be pleased to honour me with their company.

'Item, all noble foreigners shall have sure and loyal passports from my aforesaid sovereign lord, or, in his absence, from his marshal.'

CHAP. LXII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY SENDS THE COUNT D'ESTAMPES, WITH A LARGE BODY OF MEN AT ARMS, INTO THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG.

At this period, the duchess of Luxembourg, widow to duke Anthony of Brabant and to John of Bavaria (both of them uncles to the duke of Burgundy, one by the father's the other by the mother's side), made heavy complaints to the duke of Burgundy that the greater part of her subjects and vassals in the duchy of Luxembourg had refused to obey her, or pay her the rents that were her due. The inhabitants of Luxembourg and Thionville were particularly rebellious, with those of other places in their neighbourhood, by driving out of their towns her officers. She most humbly requested of him, from his love to God, and in honour to his two uncles, whom she had married, and to whom she had always behaved most honourably,

that he would take compassion on her case, and afford her such succour as should replace her with honour in her duchy, otherwise she should be reduced to live in great poverty and misery.

The duke made her a very kind answer, saying that he would heartily assist her against her rebellious subjects with every means in his power,—for which she gratefully thanked him. In consequence, he lost no time to assemble his council, for them to deliberate on the matter and determine on the most efficacious method of performing his engagement.—It was resolved at this council, that the duke of Burgundy should send a solemn message to the inhabitants of Luxembourg, to require of them to perform their duties to the duchess and to her officers, as they were bounden to do,—and that, should they refuse, he, the duke, would support her with all his power, to restore to her her rights.

The inhabitants refused to attend to this summons, although several requests were made to them for the purpose, and instantly introduced into their towns a

body of troops from duke William of Saxony, who laid claim to the duchy as next heir. He sent thither eight hundred combatants from the borders of Germany, under the command of a relative called the count de Clicque, who garrisoned the town of Luxembourg, Thionville, and others of their party.

The duke of Burgundy, perceiving they persevered in their rebellion, determined to make war upon them, and wrote letters to the count de Vernembourg, the heir of Sarrebrusse, Henry de la Tour, and to other nobles of the duchy of Luxembourg, the greater part of whom supported the duchess, to request that they would join him in his war against her rebellious subjects. He added that he would shortly send thither an army, and command it in person, to conquer that duchy, and drive out those who at present occupied it. They returned for answer, that they were very agreeable to join him; and, after they had sent to the different towns in rebellion their challenges, made open war upon them. In the mean time, the duke of Burgundy or-

dered the count d'Estampes into Picardy, to assemble a large force, and march with it to meet him in Burgundy.

When his army was ready, he commanded it to advance toward Saint Quentin, whither he himself went, accompanied by Waleran de Moreul, Guy de Roye, the lord de Humieres, the lord de Saveuses, sir Simon de Lalain, the lord de Neufville, Gauvain Quieret, sir Anthony de Wissoch, Jean de Haplaincourt, and many noble knights and esquires, to the number of twelve or thirteen hundred combatants.

From St Quentin, the army marched toward Laon, to pass through the county of Rethel; but when near to Montagut *, intelligence was brought that Dimenche le Court, le Roucin, and others of the king of France's captains, were posted in Montagut and Sissonne †, whence they had lately laid waste the whole country of the Rethelois. The count d'Estampes was very indignant on hearing this; for

* Montagut,—a village in Picardy, near Laon.

† Sissonne,—a town in Picardy, near Laon.

a short time before, Dimenche le Court had been defeated in Burgundy, and had then promised never more to invade the territories of the duke of Burgundy, nor of his allies. The count sent to order them to decamp, for that he intended to lodge in Montagut; but as they refused to obey, a dispute ensued between the two parties, and the count instantly attacked them, when the French were defeated, with the loss of their horses and baggage, taken by the Picards. Few were killed, but many wounded,—and such as had been made prisoners were afterwards set at liberty. Some had even their baggage restored,—in particular, that of de Court,—and they made a retreat as speedily as they could.

Neither the king nor dauphin were pleased that their men should have been attacked and defeated on the territories of France, more especially as these troops in obedience to a summons from the dauphin, were on their march to the relief of Dieppe, of which ample mention shall be made: the mischief, however,

was done,—which caused, hereafter, great remorse.

The count d'Estampes marched his army toward Burgundy, and encamped in the plains near to Langres and Montfaucon: during which, the count and principal nobles waited on the duke of Burgundy at Dijon, where they were joyfully received and feasted. They remained there some time, while the duke was finishing his preparations to march with his army into Luxembourg.

CHAP. LXIII.

THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY REDUCES THE DUCHY OF LUXEMBOURG TO HIS OBEDIENCE.

We must now speak of the duke of Burgundy, who was making great preparations for the attack of Luxembourg. In the interval, several attempts were made to reconcile the duchess and her disobedient subjects, but in vain. The duke was, therefore, resolved to make a severe war

on them, and reduce them to his obedience.

He first detached sir Simon de Lalain into Luxembourg, with three or four hundred combatants, who formed a junction with the count de Vernembourg, and the other nobles allied to the duke of Burgundy. They quartered themselves in Arlon, and other towns attached to the duchess, and thought to have gained Thionville by an understanding with the inhabitants, but failed, from the count de Clicque and his party having the ascendency, together with a considerable garrison to enforce obedience. Shortly after, the count de Clicque, with a large army and train of artillery, advanced near to Arlon, with the intent to besiege it, and several skirmishes took place, when many were killed and wounded on both sides,—but fearing the superior force of the duke of Burgundy, he retreated into Luxembourg.

The Picards made several excursions, and at times advanced even to the gates of Luxembourg. The duke of Burgundy now left Dijon in handsome array,

and grandly attended with knights and esquires. He fixed his quarters at Yvoy, in the duchy of Luxembourg, where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. While at Yvoy, he ordered the castle of Villy to be besieged, as it contained a party of marauders, who had done great mischief to the poor farmers, under the command of one called Jacquemin de Beaumont.

The command of this expedition was given to Guy de Roye, the lord de Saveuses, Hugh de Hasines, and others, having with them six hundred combatants. They pointed many engines against this castle, which damaged it much; but those within declared, that they belonged to the young lord de Commercy, who had been with the dauphin to the relief of Dieppe. They also sent to inform him of what was passing, when he assembled about a thousand combatants,—among whom was Pierre Robert, le Roucin, and many other veterans. They pushed forward by forced marches until they were near the castle, and then, at early morn, they surprised the burgundian camp, without

meeting much resistance. Those, however, who had the command of the siege, hearing a noise, assembled their men in haste, and, in handsome array, attacked the enemy, drove him out of their camp into the plain, where a sharp engagement ensued, and where sir Gauvain Quieriet, sir Hugh de Longueval, and others of the chiefs displayed great courage. Sir Gauvain had joined them the day before, and had informed them of the march of the young lord of Commercy.

This lord and his companions, finding that they would lose rather than gain by a longer stay, galloped off in haste, and returned to Commercy, leaving behind eight or ten dead and several wounded. On the part of the Burgundians, a gentleman, named Walter de Pavant, was slain, and a few with him. During the engagement, Jacquemin de Beaumont abandoned his men, and, issuing out at a postern of the castle, joined the young lord de Commercy, and returned with him. The garrison now surrendered on capitulation, that they should march away with arms and baggage.

The duke of Burgundy encamped his army nearer Luxembourg, and the count d'Estampes, with the greater part of his captains, went to Ez*, a large town that was formerly inclosed, and remained there some time. His men made frequent excursions thence, and, when they met any of the enemy's troops, made very light of them.

While these things were passing, the duke, who had with him some of his ablest advisers, held frequent consultations with those best acquainted with the country, on the means of putting an end to the war. He was advised to attempt scaling the walls of Luxembourg during the night, to which he readily listened, and ordered preparations to be made accordingly. Two gentlemen,—one from Burgundy named Guillaume le Grevant, and the other from Picardy called Robert de Miraumont,—were dispatched, under care of proper guides, to examine the place and make a trial. They set out, having with them some excellent scalers.

* Ez. Q. Metz.

and soon discovered that the enterprise was feasible,—for, finding the watch inattentive, they mounted the walls, and examined at their ease the whole state of the town. They then returned as secretly as they could, and related to the duke all they had observed.

On their report, he determined to make the attempt, and sent information thereof to the count d'Estampes and the other captains with him; signifying to them that it was his pleasure they should undertake it, and that he would support them should there be occasion. The duke was at this time at Arlon, and the count d'Estampes at Ez. The count, on receiving this information, assembled the majority of the captains, and laid before them the plan and orders from the duke, and demanded their opinions. It was long debated, when some declared themselves doubtful of its success, and gave their reasons for so thinking; but at length it was resolved to undertake it, since it was the will and pleasure of the duke.

After this determination, it was next

considered who should take command of the first party of scalers—and sir Gauvain Quieriet, the lord de Bosqueaux, Guillaume le Grevant, and Robert de Miraumont, were appointed, with sixty or eighty men to support the scalers. They began their march under the direction of able guides of the country, and were overtaken by the lord de Saveuses, although at the time he was labouring under a severe disorder, whose arrival gave them great pleasure. They advanced in silence to within half a league of Luxembourg, when they dismounted, and there left their horses, and continued to advance to the appointed place. Having then ordered who were to mount first, and those who were instantly to follow in a line, the ladders were raised against the wall, and the enterprise proceeded. The lord de Saveuses was requested to remain at the foot of the ladders to see that order was observed, and that such mounted as had been fixed on,—for there was not a man among them who would have refused to obey him.

When sir Gauvain and the others

had gained the ramparts, they seized some of the inhabitants, threatening to put them to death if they made the least noise, and hastened to break open a postern, to admit the lord de Saveuses and those who had followed them, to the number of two hundred, who instantly shouted, 'Town won!' to the dismay of the inhabitants, who cried out, 'To arms!' in several places.

The Burgundians hastened to the market place, which they gained, notwithstanding some few of the townsmen had assembled there to defend it. They made little resistance, but sir Gauvain was wounded,—and two of the townsmen being slain, the rest fled for the castle and the lower town. The count d'Estampes, having received on his march several messages of the success of the detachment, hastened as fast as he could to Luxembourg. On his arrival, he ordered a party in front of the castle, to prevent those within from making a sally; but they had already set fire to the houses in the street opposite, which destroyed several handsome dwellings, and the greater part of the

horses of the men at arms in their stables, their masters having retired within the castle. When the populace, who had retreated in multitudes to the lower town, saw that the place was won without hope of rescue, they issued forth, and went to Thionville, and other places, in despair, abandoning all their effects.

This same day, the duke of Burgundy came to Luxembourg, and his men were then regularly quartered through the town: the great wealth, and abundance of all things therein, were plundered by those who had made the conquest. It had been ordered, prior to the march, that no indiscriminate pillage should take place,—but that all things should be regularly shared to each person, according to his rank, without fraud: but this order was not observed,—and the majority of the middling and lower ranks in the army were defrauded of their portion: indeed, few had any portions but the chiefs of the army and those who had commanded the expedition. Those also gained who were intrusted with the guard of the plunder; but this conduct caused

great murmurings in the army,—and complaints were loudly uttered by many, saying that this was a bad example for them to adventure their lives another time for plunder, when they now received no share of it: but, notwithstanding their complaints, they gained nothing. On the contrary, they were forced rigorously, to deliver up whatever they had taken, into the hands of commissaries appointed for that purpose.

The lord de Humieres was on this expedition, and exercised the office of marshal for the lord de Beaumont, marshal of Burgundy. Beside the count d'Estampes, there were with the duke of Burgundy from Picardy and its borders, the lord de Croy, count Porcien, Waleran de Moreul, sir Simon de Lalain, Guy de Roye, the lord de Saveuses, his brother Hugh de Hames, Hugh de Longueval, the lord de Bosqueaux, sir Anthony de Wissoch, and numbers of others of the nobility. From Burgundy were the lord de Ternant, sir Pierre de Baufremont lord of Chargny, the lord of Brassay, Charles de Rochefort, Philibert de

Vaudray, Jean de Vaudray, Philibert d'Aincourt, and many more knights and esquires.

The count de Clicque had retreated, with his men, into the castle,—but escaped thence secretly during the night, and went on foot to Thionville. The castle of Luxembourg held out for three weeks after the capture of the town, during which sir John bastard of Dampierre was killed by the shot of an arrow on the head from one of the garrison; and the lord de Saveuses was grievously wounded on the breast by a cross-bow shot, at a sally made from the castle: he was in danger of death, but by the abilities of the duke's surgeons he recovered.

At the end of three weeks, the count de Clicque signed a capitulation with commissioners from the duke of Burgundy for the surrender of the castle of Luxembourg, on condition that his men therein might depart in safety, but without carrying away any thing with them. The town of Thionville surrendered at the same time,—when the count de Clicque returned with his men to his country of Germany, covered with disgrace and con-

fusion. Thus did the duke of Burgundy in a short time subdue the whole duchy of Luxembourg to his obedience, and with little loss of men.

He was now joined by his duchess and the duchess of Luxembourg, with whom a treaty was concluded for her enjoyment of the duchy during her life with the same powers as before, and that she was to pay annually to the duke of Burgundy the sum of ten thousand francs, french money, as a reimbursement for his expences, and the duchy was to revert to him and his heirs on her decease.

The duke published a proclamation during his stay at Luxembourg to forbid all persons, whatever might be their rank, from seeking any quarrels or doing wrong to any of the lords of that country or to their vassals. This was infringed by one of his body-archers, called The Little Scotsman, who quarrelled with sir Pierre Bernard, and struck him; for which the duke had him instantly hanged, notwithstanding the entreaties of several great lords of his household, and even the solicitations of sir Pierre Bernard, to save

his life, and although he had been before very fond of him, and was well pleased with his services; but he would not remit the sentence, to afford an example to all others not to dare infringe his edicts or ordinances.

At this time, several embassies took place between the kings of France and England, to endeavour to conclude a peace between them, or at least to prolong the truce. The king of France was now at Tours in Touraine, when many great councils were held on these matters, and for which a meeting of the three estates was called; but notwithstanding these measures, the two parties continued a severe warfare on each other.

CHAP. LXIV.

SOME OF THE DAUPHIN'S MEN, HAVING ADVANCED INTO BURGUNDY, ARE ATTACKED AND DEFEATED BY THE MARSHAL OF BURGUNDY.

About the beginning of this year, the dauphin returned to the king his father at Tours. He had been long absent in Languedoc, as well in respect to the affair of the count d'Armagnac* as on other business. On his return, many of his army advanced into Burgundy, and committed similar mischiefs to what they had done before. They had fixed their quarters at a large village called Espoise, where the lord de Beaumont, marshal of

* The count d'Armagnac, disgusted with the king's taking the county of Cominges from him, and for other causes, had revolted, and entered into a treaty with England, offering one of his daughters in marriage to king Henry VI. Hall seems to say, that the cardinal of Winchester betrayed this to the king of France, from hatred to the duke of Glocester; and consequently the king of France attacked and overpowered the count of Armagnac.

Burgundy, accompanied by a party of nobles, overtook and attacked them,—and the French were defeated, with the loss of numbers killed and taken.

Intelligence of this event was soon carried to the dauphin, who swore a round oath that he would march himself into Burgundy to revenge the loss. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy having heard what the dauphin had said and sworn, declared that he would personally defend his country. Thus was the foundation laid for the ill blood between these two princes,—but shortly after, by the mediation of prudent persons on each side, matters were made up, and the dauphin restrained his anger and resentment.

CHAP. LXV.

A TRUCE IS CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE KINGS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND WITH ALL THE ALLIES AND RELATIVES OF EITHER PARTY.

THE meetings for peace were, during this time continued with much activity at Tours, whither came many of the high nobility of France and of England: such as could not personally attend sent their commissioners, with full powers to act for them. On the part of the duke of Burgundy came sir John de Croy, bailiff of Hainault, the prior de Vergy, master Oudart Caperal, and other notable men, there were likewise envoys from the principal towns.

On the part of the king of England were sir William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, master Adam Moleyns, keeper of the king's privy seal and dean of Salisbury, sir Robert Roos and others*,

* Page 53. vol. xi. of the Fœdera, contains the warrant for their wages for three months. The *others*

Several conferences were holden to conclude a general peace,—but so many difficulties arose that it was found to be impracticable at present to bring it about, and the meetings were continued until the terms of a truce were agreed to, the articles of which were as follow:

'Charles duke of Orleans and of Valois, count of Blois and of Beaumont, lord of Coucy and of Oisy, Louis de Bourbon, count of Vendôme and of Chartres, grand master of the royal household of France, Pierre de Brésé, lord de la Varenne and of Bressac, seneschal of Poitou and of Anjou, Bertrand de Beauveau, lord of Precigny, knight, counsellor and chamberlain to the most excellent king of France, our most redoubted lord and sovereign, to all to whom these letters may come, greeting.

'Conformably to the frequent requests and solicitations of our holy father the pope, and latterly by a renewal of them through his ambassador, the reverend father in God the bishop of Viese,

were master Richard Andrews, king's secretary and doctor of laws, and John Wenlok, esquire.

to the king, our redoubted and sovereign lord, that he would condescend to take speedy measures for the accomplishment of a lasting peace, or long truce, with the most high and potent prince his nephew, king of England, who, on his part has sent hither, with full powers to treat of the same, certain lords as his ambassadors, namely, William de la Pole earl of Suffolk, master Adam Moleyns keeper of his privy seal, doctor of laws and dean of Salisbury, sir Robert Roos, sir Thomas Hors*, knight, Richard Andrews, one of his secretaries.

The king our redoubted lord, from his reverence to God, and from the compassion he has ever felt for the afflictions and distresses the poorer people have so long suffered from each contending party, and to prevent the longer continuance thereof, and likewise to avoid further effusion of human blood, has liberally condescended to treat on these matters with the aforesaid ambassadors from his ne-

* Sir Thomas Hors—must be a mistake; for only the four mentioned in the preceding note are contained in the warrant in the Fœdera.

phew the king of England, and has been pleased to commission us to act on his part in the said business, giving to us letters with full powers to treat of the same.

'Charles duke of Orleans, &c. Be it known that we have assembled, for several days, in the town of Tours, to treat of a peace or truce with the ambassadors from England; and at their request, in the full persuasion that we may in the end conclude a final and lasting peace between our redoubted lord and sovereign and his aforesaid nephew; for the two kingdoms, of France and England, have consented and agreed to a truce in the name of our sovereign lord, conformably to the powers granted to us, with the before-mentioned earl of Suffolk and the other ambassadors from England, on the following terms.

'A general truce on the part of the king, our sovereign lord, and his kingdom, as well by sea as by land, his vassals and subjects, including those most powerful princes the kings of Castille and Leon, of the Romans, of Sicily, of

Scotland, the dukedoms of Anjou, Bar and Lorraine, the dauphin of Vienne, the dukes of Orleans, Burgundy, Brittany, Bourbon, Alençon, the count du Maine, and generally the whole of the princes of the blood-royal of France, and all allies of our sovereign throughout Europe: including, likewise, all their vassals, subjects and adherents, provided they be not of suspicious character to either party, and shall wish to be included in this truce,—promising, at the same time, on oath, to preserve the truce inviolate, and to make reparations for any infractions that shall be committed. This truce shall take effect throughout the kingdom of France in manner following. In the duchy and country of Gascony, and in the sea-ports and adjacent isles, on the 15th day of May next ensuing, at sun-rise, and in all other parts of the kingdom. But in regard to the sea, the truce shall not commence on the coasts of England, Ireland and Wales until the first day of July at sun-rise,—and throughout the other parts of the dominions of the said high and potent prince,

nephew to our said lord, on the same day and hour.

'With respect to the allies on each side, the truce shall take effect from the moment they shall have signified their acceptance to either of the parties. It shall be sufficient for the acquittal of the king, our sovereign lord, that he declare the acceptance of any of his allies to the person who shall have the government of the territories of his nephew, the king of England, on this side of the sea in Guienne or Normandy. And it shall be sufficient for the said high and potent prince his nephew, king of England, to make similar declarations to the court of parliament of Paris. This truce shall last until the complete revolution of the year, which, according to the usual mode of counting in France, will be on the first day of April, in the year 1445, before Easter-day.

'Item, during this truce, our sovereign lord will put an end to all warfare between the two kingdoms and their allies; and the said high and potent prince, his nephew, shall not aid or abet any of

the king's subjects in designs prejudicial to his honour or dignity. In like manner will our said sovereign act towards the said high and puissant prince his nephew.

'Item, during this truce, neither of the parties shall attempt to gain any city or town by force or stratagem, by sale or seduction, or under any colour or manner whatever; and our said redoubted lord and sovereign will order all captures of persons, whatever may be their rank and ransoms, to cease, (excepting, however, the ransoms of such as may have been made prisoners prior to the signing of the truce) together with all plunderings, robberies, and every misery attendant on war. Those who have borne arms on one side ought not to intermix with such as have borne arms on the other, nor seek the doing of mischief.

'Item, should it happen that the men at arms of either party take possession of any city, town, or castle, that party shall be bounden to yield it back again fully repaired, should any damage have been done to it; and in case those who have thus taken it shall refuse to

give it back unless forced thereto, the party to whom they belong shall be bounden to recover the same by force of arms, and at their expense; and supposing there may not be time sufficient during the existence of the truce to finish all the repairs, the party that had taken it shall be bounden to complete it wholly.

'Item, during the truce, the subjects of either shall have free liberty to pass to and from each country with their merchandise (excepting always military stores) freely and securely,—and to transact their business in whatever manner they shall choose, without any let or molestation whatever, free from arrest for any debt or obligations contracted prior to this truce, on paying duly all the accustomed tolls through the different provinces or jurisdictions they may pass: provided always that none of the subjects of either party, noble or men at arms, shall enter any castle, inclosed town or fort, without having previously demanded leave from the governor or his lieutenant of all such places, and then without arms and in small parties. In

respect to real pilgrims, they may travel in small or large parties, according to the usual mode of pilgrims going on pilgrimages to the accustomed shrines. In regard to merchants and common people, it will be enough for them to demand leave of entrance from the porters at the gates of any towns or castles.

'Item, whereas several of the subjects of our said redoubted lord and sovereign possess lands under the obedience of his said nephew, the revenues of which, or in part, they have enjoyed by the hands of farmers or otherwise, they may now again enjoy the same during the truce in the manner and form as before.

'Item, in regard to the contributions which have been customarily levied by each party, the conservators of the truce and others commissioned from the two kings shall regulate them according to their pleasure.

'Item, should any attempts be made to infringe the truce, which God forbid! it shall not be broken, nor shall war be declared on either side, but the truce shall remain in full force, as if nothing

had been done contrary to the meaning and purpose of these articles. Such attempts shall have due reparation made for them by those who committed them, and be punished corporally by the aforesaid conservators of the truce.

'Item, if, during the truce, any dispute or quarrel shall arise between one of the parties and the subjects or allies of the other, the latter party shall not form any alliances for his support with those who have commenced the dispute.

'All the above articles, and each of them, we duke of Orleans, and the other commissioners for our said lord the king, have solemnly promised on oath to observe, and do solemnly promise and swear for, and in the name of, our said lord the king to observe, and to make these said articles agreeable to our most potent and redoubted sovereign,—and we will, according as the case shall require, send ratifications of the same to the person who may have the government of the town of Rouen, on or before the 15th day of July next ensuing, provided that

the same be done within the aforesaid term by the most potent and noble prince the nephew of our said lord and sovereign.

'In testimony whereof, we, each of us, having signed these articles with our hands, and sealed them with our own seals.—Given at Tours, the 20th day of May, in the year 1444.'

While this treaty was going on, several other matters were introduced, and a treaty of marriage was proposed between king Henry of England and the daughter of Réné king of Sicily, duke of Lorraine and Bar, which was afterwards concluded, as shall be noticed in the ensuing chapter.

[A. D. 1444.]

CHAP. LXVI.

THE ENGLISH PROLONG THE TRUCE FOR EIGHT MONTHS.—THE KING OF ENGLAND IS BETROTHED TO THE DAUGHTER OF RÉNÉ KING OF SICILY. THE KING OF SICILY DEMANDS SUCCOURS FROM THE KING OF FRANCE.

TOWARD the end of April, and after Easter, in the year 1444, the English prolonged the truces for eight months, and at the same time betrothed the daughter of Réné king of Sicily to king Henry of England, in the hope that this measure would establish peace between the two kingdoms. The english ambassadors then returned to England, to report to their king and parliament what they had done, and to accelerate a peace.

In this state of affairs, the king of France determined with his ministers to send his men at arms, as well french as foreigners, to take up their quarters in Germany during the truce, under

the command of the dauphin. In consequence the dauphin marched from Troyes in the month of July, and, by short marches, came before the town of Montbelliart in Germany, bordering on the country of Burgundy, which he laid siege to, because the bailiff of that place had made an inroad as far as the city of Langres in France, had carried away men and cattle, and done many other mischiefs, which had greatly displeased the king. The town and castle of Montbelliart surrendered on capitulation.

The king shortly after, followed the dauphin with a large army, by slow marches, to the city of Langres, whence he detached his van to a castle called Arlay, on the borders of Lorraine, held by the bastard of Vergy, who had done from thence, and others of his forts, great damages to the country of Champagne. All these castles the bastard yielded up to the king except that of Arlay, which he said he possessed as a pledge for money advanced to René king of Sicily: it was very strong, in excellent repair, and well victualled.

The king advanced his army to a town called Espinal, on the frontiers of Lorraine and Germany, which was held by the bishop of Metz, and the castle by the commonalty: both surrendered to the king on his appearing before them. He thence marched to Nancy. While he was there, Réné king of Sicily earnestly entreated that he would assist him to conquer the city of Metz and other towns in Lorraine, which, although his own personal domain, were in rebellion against him. The king, in compliance with his request, sent to summon Metz to surrender, otherwise he would march his army to besiege it.

The inhabitants having remonstrated on this, and declared that they were independant of the king of Sicily and of any other lord, they were closely besieged for the space of five months or more, when they concluded a treaty with the king, and the blockade was raised. During this siege, a great lord from Germany, called the lord Bourgalemoine*, came

* Bourgalemoine. Du Cange MS. has Belleforest. Bourgumoine? Q.

thither, having been sent by the emperor to the dauphin, as his guide to the countries round Basil, Montbelliart, Coulombaria*, Selestat†, Strasbourg, Hagenau, in the district of Aussays‡, to conquer the Swiss and Germans, who had thrown off their dependance on the emperor.

The dauphin, accompanied by many lords and captains, advanced as far as Basil; but when he had come within a league of that place he was met by about about eight hundred Swiss, who took possession of an hospital and garden, where, considering the smallness of their numbers, they made a gallant defence, and killed the german nobleman whom the emperor had sent as a guide to the dauphin, with several others, although they lost the greater part of their own men. The dauphin now approached Basil, and the townsmen thinking his army must be fatigued,

* Coulombaria,—Columbaria, the latin name for Colmar.

† Selestat,—or Schlestadt, a town in Lower Alsace, about four miles from Strasburg.

‡ Aussays. Q. Aussois?

sallied out against him; but at this affair upward of a thousand Germans were slain, and from two to three hundred made prisoners: the rest took to flight.

The dauphin next marched to the town of St Hipolyte * to take it by storm, but it capitulated, as did that of Vau-du-Lieure. The army began now to pillage and commit great devastations on the country round, insomuch that the Swiss and Germans rose in large bodies and killed numbers of the men. Their captains, perceiving that the whole country was rising against them, and that their leader, who was acquainted with all the passes, was dead, returned with the army to the king of France at Nancy.

With the king were René king of Sicily, and numbers of great lords and knights, the queens of France and Sicily, the dauphiness, and the daughter of king René, whom the earl of Suffolk had come with a splendid embassy to demand in

* St Hippolyte,—a town formerly of Germany, now of the duchy of Lorraine, a few leagues distant from Schlestadt.

marriage for the king of England. After a few discussions, every thing was agreed on; but before their departure with the new queen a magnificent tournament was held, in which the kings of France and Sicily, the lord Charles d'Anjou, the counts de Foix, and de St Pol, the lord Ferry de Lorraine, and several other great lords, tilted. These feasts lasted eight days,—and the ladies were most splendidly dressed.

The kings of France and of Sicily escorted the queen of England two leagues from Nancy, where the king took leave of his niece with many tears, and recommended her to the protection of God: their grief was so great that they could not speak. The king returned to Nancy,—but her father, the king of Sicily, accompanied her as far as Bar-le-Duc, where he and her mother took their leave of her, with floods of tears, and prayers for her welfare.

Soon after the return of the dauphin, the Germans, in contempt of their oaths, gained the towns of St Hipolyte and Vau-du-Lieure, by force, and set fire to

both of them. At this moment, the archbishop of Treves, elector of the holy roman empire, and the count de Blancquemain*, came to the king of France from the Germans, to propose a perpetual peace and alliance†.

I had forgotten to say, that during the long siege of Metz many vigorous sallies were made by the garrison, but courageously repulsed by the besiegers. Several small castles were won by the king's troops without interrupting the business of the siege. One belonged to a

* Blancquemaine. Blanquevau. —— MS. DU CANGE.

† 'To keep the disbanded soldiers out of mischief, (during the truce) the dauphin leads twenty thousand of them, of whom eight thousand were English, to assist the duke of Lorraine and the town of Zuric against the Switzers. Near Basil, they attack four thousand men, who had come to assist that town. The dauphin, after an obstinate resistance, slays them all but sixteen; nay, some say one, and that he, on returning to his canton, had his head cut off for cowardice. The French retreat, and abandon the war in that district. They then besiege Metz,—and raise vast contributions from the towns around to buy their absence. With this money the dauphin pays his soldiers, and discharges all but fifteen hundred.'—*Andrews* from *Mezeray*.

gentleman called William Chance, governor of Harfleur. Two or three were held by the duke of Burgundy's men, but no attempts were made on them, because they had been given by the king of Sicily to the duke of Burgundy, as pledges for the payment of his ransom which was still owing to the duke.

The governor of Metz was a very cruel man, called John Vitout, who, during the siege, rode a small courser, having at his tail a bell which made a great noise. He did this that all might hear and know when he was riding about the town. This governor was very severe on all women who left the town to ransom their husbands that had been made prisoners by the French; for on their return, he had them drowned, because they had supplied the enemy with money. He put to death, without mercy, all french prisoners, and would not hear of a ransom or exchange. Nevertheless, the king was so benign a prince that he wished not his death nor that of his accomplices, but granted them most handsome terms of surrender. The heavy

articles of the capitulation were a handsome present of gilt plate, two hundred thousand crowns for the expenses of the siege, and the acquittance of one hundred thousand florins of gold which king Réné and his predecessors had borrowed from them. On these terms they preserved all their rights and privileges from any innovation; and their quarrel with the king of Sicily remained undetermined, nor were any further measures taken towards bringing it to a conclusion.

When this matter had been settled, and during the stay of the king at Nancy, he ordered a general muster of all the troops who had marched into Germany, and of those who had served at the siege of Metz, from whom five * hundred of the best-appointed lances and four thousand archers were to be selected. The remainder of his army he disbanded and sent to their homes, at the same time breaking the greater part of their captains, retaining only fifteen of the most experienced,—to

* *Five.* Q. If it should not be *fifteen* from what follows?

This is the origin of a standing army in France.

each of whom he gave the command of one hundred lances, and a proportionate number of archers. This was intended for a permanent establishment, to be quartered in different towns in the kingdom, and to be fed and paid in so ample a manner that for the future no soldier was to be suffered to plunder at his pleasure the country farmers or villages, as had formerly been done.

When this ordinance had been carried into effect, the king and his court went to Châlons, and there remained some time.

At this period, the king of Poland and the cardinal of St Angelo, the pope's legate, conquered, with the aid of a body of Christians, who had joined them, all Greece and Wallachia, driving the Saracens thence to the Black Sea. But shortly afterward, the sultan and great Turk raised a large army of Saracens, crossed the sea, came up with the Christians, who at that moment were but few in number, and completely defeated them. Among the dead, were slain and killed alive, the king of Poland and the cardinal, who,

please God, are now martyrs in Paradise,—for they were killed while endeavouring to extend the doctrines of JESUS CHRIST*.

On the return of the dauphin's army from Germany, the English left him, with their leader Mutago, who marched them back, for subsistence, to Normandy, then in the possession of king Henry of England.

* In the 'Art de Verifier les Dates,' the account of this event is as follows.

'A peace was concluded with the Turks and Christians for ten years, and signed about the middle of June, 1444, but almost immediately violated by the Christians, on the representations of the cardinal Julien Césarini, who had been present at the treaty. A battle was fought on the 10th November 1444, near Varna, in Lower Mesia, between Ladislaus, at the head of eighteen thousand men, and Amurath, who had upward of sixty thousand. The victory, long disputed, was at length gained by the infidels. Ladislaus, after performing prodigies of valour, was killed. He was but twenty years old. The cardinal Julien was among the dead,—but the manner of his death is variously related.'

[A. D. 1445.]

CHAP. LXVII.

THE KING OF SICILY MEETS THE KING OF FRANCE AT CHAALONS, TO TREAT WITH THE DUKE OF BURGUNDY RESPECTING HIS RANSOM.—THE DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY COMES THITHER.—AFTER THE DEATHS OF THE QUEENS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AN EMBASSY TO THE COURT OF ENGLAND.

In the year 1445, during the residence of the king of France at Châlons, the king of Sicily came thither to treat of his ransom with the duke of Burgundy, whose prisoner he was. He had not money enough when taken, and had therefore turned over to him, as pledges for the payment, the towns and castles of Neufchâtel in Lorraine, of Beaumont in Argonne, and Gaudricourt*, and in all of them the duke of Burgundy had placed

* Gaudricourt,—Gondrecourt, a village in Champagne, near Bar-sur-Aube.

garrisons, paid by the king of Sicily; but when they wanted money, from neglect of due payments they made incursions over the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, and committed all sorts of outrages.

The duchess of Burgundy came to meet the king at Châlons, to make a treaty with the king of Sicily; and it was agreed that the above-named towns should be restored to him, on condition he would settle in perpetuity, on the duke of Burgundy and his heirs, the town and castlewick of Cassel in Flanders *. Many grand feasts were made on the arrival of the duchess of Burgundy at Châlons.

At this time, the queens of Spain and Portugal departed this life: they were sisters to the kings of Arragon and Navarre. The queen of Scotland died also this year, as did the dauphiness of France at Châlons, daughter to the king of Scotland by his late queen. She was buried in the cathedral church at Châlons,—and her loss caused great sorrow

* Réné became possessed of Cassel and its lordships by virtue of a gift of the cardinal Louis de Bar, his uncle, who died 1430.

to all who knew her, for she was a handsome and good lady*.

The king of France sent from Châlons, on an embassy to England his cousin the count de Vendôme, grand master of the household, the archbishop of Rheims, first ecclesiastical peer of France, with others, to endeavour to bring about a general peace between the two kingdoms. The king of Castille, brother at arms and ally to the king of France, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Brittany, Burgundy, and Alençon, sent likewise ambassadors thither, to confirm whatever should be proposed by those of the king.

This embassy was graciously received by the king of England, his nobles and prelates, but only concluded a prolongation of the truce from the month of April until the ensuing November, in the year 1446. In the mean time, a meeting was fixed for the two kings between Rouen and Chartres, or between Rouen and Paris; and, for a further accommodation the

* It was this dauphiness who made the celebrated answer for giving Alain Chartier a kiss when he was asleep.

king of England sent master Adam de Mouleyns, keeper of his privy seal, and bishop of Exeter* elect, to king Charles. to prolong the truce from November 1446 to the following April, that there might be sufficient time allowed for the full discussion of the various articles incidental to a treaty of peace. The king of France sent in return, to his nephew, master Guillaume Causinot, councellor and master of requests of his household, and Jean de Havart, his esquire-carver, to signify his acceptance of this prolongation of the truce.

When they went back, king Henry sent Garter king at arms with them, charged with letters to the king of France in which he promised, on the word of a king to come to France before the ensuing month of November. Garter brought back to the king of England similar letters which were proclaimed throughout the two realms.

At this time, duke Francis of Brittany did homage to the king, in the

* Exeter. Glocester.——MS. Du Cange. See Fœdera.

castle of Chinon, for that duchy, and likewise for the county of Montfort.

About the same time, two daughters of the king of Scotland arrived in France, expecting to find their sister the dauphiness alive; for she had desired them to come to her, that she might marry them. They first learnt the account of the dauphiness's decease at Châlons, on their landing in Flanders, and were exceedingly affected by it. On their arrival at the court of France, the king ordered them to be waited on by the servants of the late dauphiness, and appointed them a similar establishment, at his expense, until other arrangements should be made or they should be married.

CHAP. LXVIII.

IN THE YEAR MCCCCXLVI. WHEN THE KING OF FRANCE RETURNED FROM HEARING MASS, HE FOUND ON HIS BED THE FOLLOWING DITTY.

Bad payments, evil counsellors,
The discord of our warriors,

Gabelles, and burdensome taxation
Again torment this hapless nation.
With wars, which, till our state be mended,
We ne'er shall see or check'd or ended:
For multitudes, with trait'rous arts,
Serve France's king with english hearts;
And service wrought against the will
Can ne'er turn out to aught but ill.
True is the maxim of the sage,
Which saith, The broils of civil rage
Surely befal that wretched state
Whose king his subjects view with hate.
War too delights the ravening train
Who still the royal treasure drain:
Who, midst the strife, with greedy hands,
Sieze gold and silver, house and lands;
Who, aye the first to seize the prey,
Are aye the last their dues to pay.
But, dukes and kings, to me attend:
If thus your warfare know no end,
Be sure at length you'll rue the cost,
When all your lands are waste and lost;
For friends by ready pay are won,
While tardy payers are undone.
No more within your castle's walls
Court libbard ease while honour calls,

But quit your forests and your streams,
And haste where many a banner gleams.
Alas! for France so meek and tame,
No glory dwells upon thy name!
To thee, O duke! to thee, O king!
With honest grief this plaint I bring.

CHAP. LXIX.

THE DUKE OF BRITTANY PUTS HIS BROTHER, THE LORD GILES, TO DEATH.—THE GENOESE SEND AN EMBASSY TO THE KING OF FRANCE, TO OFFER HIM THEIR SOVEREIGNTY.—THE EVENT.

In the year 1446, the lord Giles of Brittany was arrested in the castle of Guilledon *, by order of his brother the duke, who suspected him of intending to favour an invasion of the English on his coasts. This arrest was made by four hundred of the king's lances, under the command of sir Regent de Coetivy admiral of France, sir Regnault de Dresnay bailiff of Sens, and sir Pierre de Brésé seneschal of Poitou.

* Guilledon. Guilledou.——MS. Du Cange.

They delivered their prisoner to the duke of Brittany, to do with him as he should please,—and he soon after had him murdered in his prison.

In the month of September, the bishop of Exeter, keeper of the king of England's privy seal, and the lord Dudley*, waited on the king of France on an embassy, at a house in Touraine called Rassilé, near to Chinon; and on their departure, king Charles sent to his nephew of England master Guillaume Cousinot and Jean Havart, to prolong the truce for a year.

In this year, the families of Doria and Fregoso sent a fleet of five vessels to Marseilles from Genoa with ambassadors, to offer the sovereignty of their country to the king of France, if it were agreeable to him to accept of it. The king dispatched as ambassadors the archbishop of Rheims and others, to examine into the matter, and to proceed accordingly, who went to Marseilles to practice for the reduction of Genoa. At this

* Dudley. Audley.——MS. Du Cange.

time, John Fregoso had gained possession of Genoa, Pisa, and other places, in the king's name, having many family-connexions in the first town. He in consequence of a concerted plan, came before Genoa in a single galley, with no more than four hundred men; and on his landing, he raised the king's banner, when he was instantly surrounded by his friends in arms, and marching to the palace, was proclaimed doge of Genoa. Bernabo Adorné fled on his approach, who, a little before, had been raised to the same dignity.

Fregoso had been accompanied by one of the king's esquires, called the bastard of Poitiers, who had assisted him in gaining Genoa, thinking he would restore it to the king; but no sooner had Fregoso succeeded than he put the esquire out of the town. When news of this reached the archbishop of Rheims and the others, they embarked on board a galley at Villa-franca, near Nice, and came to Genoa, where they remonstrated with Fregoso on his treachery, and summoned him to restore the place to the

king of France as he and his friends had promised under their hands and seals. Fregoso replied, that as he had conquered the town by his sword, by his sword he would keep it*. On hearing this, the archbishop and his companions returned to Marseilles, and thence went to the king at Bourges.

* In the 'Art de Verifier les Dates' is a short account of the factions which prevailed in Genoa.

In 1448, Luigi Fregoso was elected doge: deposed in 1450. Peter Fregoso succeeded him. The Adorné, and other families whom he had exiled, made repeated attempts, with the aid of Alphonso king of Arragon, to re-enter their country and depose him. Fregoso, nearly overpowered, prevailed on the Genoese, in 1458, to submit themselves to the government of the king of France. Ambassadors were sent to negotiate this affair, which terminated happily.

John duke of Lorraine was sent by the king of France to Genoa, and took possession of the town the 11th of May, 1458. He received the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants,—and the principal forts were delivered up to him. The duke was soon after besieged in Genoa by the Adorné, and others of the discontented in league with Alphonso. An Arragonian fleet blockaded Genoa,—but the death of Alphonso put an end to the siege.

This extract will sufficiently show the inexactness of Monstrelet's account as to dates and names.

In the month of February following, pope Eugenius died,—and on the 28th instant, Nicholas V. was elected pope*.

[A. D. 1447.]

CHAP. LXX.

THE KING OF FRANCE, ON THE DEATH OF POPE EUGENIUS, HAS A GRAND COUNCIL HELD AT LYONS, WHITHER CAME MANY AMBASSADORS FROM GERMANY, ENGLAND AND OTHER PARTS, TO RESTORE UNION IN THE CHURCH AND PUT AN END TO ALL SCHISMS.

On the first of April, in the year 1447, the truces between the kings of France and England expired, but were prolonged until the first of April in 1449, and

* Thomas de Sarzana, cardinal-bishop of Bologna, was elected pope the 6th March 1447, and took the name of Nicholas V. The king of France sent him a magnificent embassy, with many propositions respecting the general peace of the church. I cannot find that any council was held at Lyons this year: one was held at Lausanne in 1449.

thence until the first day of June ensuing, in the hope that a general peace might be concluded in the mean time.

Great differences had existed during the late papacy between pope Eugenius and the council of Basil; which council the pope declared was at an end, for that he had transfered it to Ferrara, and afterward to Florence and to Rome. The council at Basil maintained that the pope could not thus transfer them without their consent,—and had proceeded against him, with the authority of a general council, to suspend him from all power in the church, and to depose him from all authority. They afterwards elected pope the lord Amadeus of Savoy, who led the life of a monk at Ripaille, and took the name of Felix V.*

Several anathemas and excommunications were issued, as well by pope Eugenius as by pope Felix, which created many wounds and schisms in the church.

* For a very particular history of the quarrel which took place between Eugenius and the council of Basil, see Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini.

When the king of France heard of these differences, being anxious to restore union and greatly hurt at the measures now passing, sent several embassies to Basil, to Rome, and to Savoy, to put an end to such shameful disputes. In like manner did duke Louis of Savoy, son to Amâdeus now pope Felix, send several times to the king of France at Tours, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation.

The king of France, in the month of November in the year 1447; seeing there was no end to these disputes deliberated with his council on the shortest means to stop this schism, and resolved that all the anathemas and censures that had been published respectively by each pope against the other should be considered as null and void; that pope Eugenius should be acknowledged as the true pope, as had been done before the commencement of these disputes; and that the lord Amadeus of Savoy, who had been styled Felix V. should remain with dignity and honour in the holy church; that those of his party in the council of Basil should be recommended to ecclesiastical dignities and honours, that

peace might be universally restored, and a general council called for the strengthening of the union of our holy church, which could not take place until an end was put to these discords, nor could any solid judgments be given until such a happy pacification should take effect.

King Charles sent these resolutions, which had been concluded by himself and his council, to pope Eugenius by the archbishop of Aix in Provence, who was going to Rome on other matters. He sent likewise copies of them to Savoy and Basil, by master Helye de Pompadour, archdeacon of Carcassonne, who was afterward bishop of Alet in Languedoc.

It happened unfortunately, that before the king could receive an answer from eight of the parties, pope Eugenius died, namely, in the month of February following, and the archbishop found him dead on his arrival at Rome. Almost instantly on his decease, Thomas de Sarzana, bishop of Bologna, was elected pope and took the name of Nicholas V. At his election, every accustomed ceremony was observed.

Duke Louis of Savoy sent also to the king at Bourges, to urge him to cause pope Nicholas to be acknowledged, and to desire that he would in the first place have a general council assembled. In the mean time, the king, having received bulls from pope Nicholas to make him acquainted with his election, determined, after some deliberations in council to acknowledge him in the same manner as he had done pope Eugenius, but not to desist from the measures he was taking for the general union of the church.

The king in consequence, sent commissioners to Lyons, and told the ambassadors from the duke of Savoy, that he wished their lord to do the same,—and that the members of the council of Basil should also meet them, in order that there might be a numerous assembly, to consider on the means of restoring peace to the church.

In the ensuing month of July, the king's commissioners arrived at Lyons, where they met the archbishop of Treves and ministers from the archbishop of Cologne, from the duke of Saxony, one

of the electors of the empire, who had waited on the king, respecting this matter of union. Thither came also the cardinal of Arles*, the provost of Montieu, and many others, as well from the duke of Savoy as from the council at Basil.

After several conferences, it was the opinion of those who came from Basil, that the king's commissioners should go to Geneva, where pope Felix resided, to have a personal interview with him, who would gladly see them. While this matter was under discussion, the count de Dunois came to Lyons, sent thither by the king to escort the ambassadors from England. These ambassadors agreeing in the said proposal, they all set out together for Geneva, in the month of November, accompanied by the archbishop of Embrun, the lord de Malicorne, the bishop of Marseilles, the ambassador from the king of Sicily, who had come to Lyons to assist in promoting a general union of the church.

The ambassadors from the duke of

* Cardinal of Arles. See his life in Moreri.

Saxony went also with them to Geneva; but the archbishop of Treves had returned home, and the commissioners from the archbishop of Cologne had gone to Rome.

When they were all arrived at Geneva, they held many conferences with pope Felix, his cardinals and counsellors, and concluded on certain articles for a pacification, on condition that pope Nicholas would also agree to them. When this was done, the french commissioners returned with these articles to the king at Tours, and reported to him all that had passed. He approved of what had been done as a probable ground-work for an union of the church, and sent ambassadors to pope Nicholas to request that he would also approve of these articles or otherwise arrange matters for a general pacification.

CHAP. LXXI.

THE DUKE OF ORLEANS RECEIVES FROM THE HANDS OF THE DUKE OF MILAN HIS UNCLE, THE COUNTY OF ASTI IN PIEDMONT.—THE KING OF FRANCE BESIEGES THE CITY OF MANS, WHICH SURRENDERS BY CAPITULATION.

In this year, the duke of Milan yielded up to the duke of Orleans, his nephew, the county of Asti,—and shortly after, the duke of Milan departed this life.

The king of France, at this period, laid siege to the city of Mans, because the king of England, on his marriage with the daughter of the king of Sicily had promised instantly to surrender that town, with all the other places he held in the county of Maine; and he had been deceived for three months by the specious promises of the english commissioners, who had not only refused to give it back but had introduced about fifteen hundred English into that town.

The king, therefore on being in-

formed of this circumstance, ordered it to be besieged,—and sent thither a great force of men at arms and archers, to the amount of six or seven thousand combatants, under the command of the count de Dunois. The siege was pushed forward with such vigour that those in the town found resistance would be vain, as they had not sufficient forces to oppose their enemies on that side of the sea. It would have been taken by storm had not the bishop of Glocester, keeper of the privy seal, remonstrated with the king of France on the risk of the truces being broken between the two kingdoms were this to take place, and obtained a capitulation for them, by which they were to yield up the town, and march away in safety with their baggage and effects.

The king of France then resided at Lavardin, near to Vendôme, attended by some of the princes of the blood-royal, and a large company of men at arms to support, should there be occasion, the besieging army of Mans. After its surrender, the king went to celebrate his

Easter in the city of Tours, and those before Mans returned to their quarters and garrisons, while, on the other hand, the English that had been in Mans retreated to Normandy.

[A. D. 1448.]

CHAP. LXXII.

THE KING OF FRANCE SENDS AMBASSADORS TO POPE NICHOLAS V.—THE TOWN OF FINAL* IS BESIEGED BY THE GENOESE.—IT IS REVICTUALLED BY SEA.—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS MAKES PREPARATIONS TO RAISE THIS SIEGE BY LAND.

In the year 1448, the king of France celebrated the feast of Easter in the city of Tours,—and immediately after, his ambassadors to pope Nicholas departed on their embassy. Some of them went by sea on board of vessels belonging to Jacques Coeur, master of the wardrobe

* Final,—a town on the western coast of Genoa.

to the king, and embarked at Marseilles. At the same time, a fleet of victuallers sailed from Marseilles, to the relief of the town and castle of Final, near to Genoa, then besieged by the Genoese. It was defended for the king by sir Galiot du Garet*, lord of the place, who had made war on the Genoese, and they in return had besieged him. Notwithstanding their opposition, the town and castle were revictualled, and the vessels returned to Marseilles.

When this was done, Tanneguy and the master of the wardrobe, with three galleys, sailed for a port near Rome called Finette Vielle†, where they arrived in safety, although pursued closely by a numerous fleet of the Genoese.

The duke of Orleans was at this time in his town of Asti, and having heard of the relief thrown into Final collected a large body of men to raise the siege; but when the Genoese learnt

* Sir Galiot du Garet. De Caretto.—MS. Du Cange.

† Finette Vielle. Q. Civita Vecchia?

his intentions, they quitted their siege and marched away.

The french ambassadors met, by appointment in the city of Sienne; and, being all assembled, they set out for Rome, where they arrived on the 10th day of July in such grand magnificence that the like had not been seen or heard of before: with the king of France's ambassadors were those from the king of Sicily and the dauphin.

The english ambassadors had arrived at Rome long before them, and had laid before the pope the articles that had been agreed to at Geneva; but he had replied, that they were unworthy of his attention, and that he would not by any means consent to them. These ambassadors had on this left Rome for Viterbo, where they met the french embassy, to whom they related what had passed, and said that they would stay a short time at Viterbo, to learn from them whether it would be expedient for them to return to Rome,—as in fact they did, from the intelligence they received from the french ambassadors.

On the 12th day of July, the ambassadors from the kings of France, of Sicily, and from the dauphin, had an audience of the pope on the matters they were come upon,—when the archbishop of Rheims, having declared the solemn obedience of their princes to the pope, explained the articles that had been agreed on as a ground-work for a general union of the church, reserving to himself to discuss them hereafter more fully in detail.

The pope made them a solemn answer, and from that day treated them with greater kindness and attention than ever any former embassy had experienced. They had several conferences with the pope and the cardinals on the articles of union,—to some of which the pope agreed, to others not.

When they had obtained all they could from the pope, they departed, and went to Lausanne, where pope Felix resided. Having explained to him all they had done at Rome, and what pope Nicholas was willing to agree to, they persuaded him to give peace to the church

by renouncing his claims to the papacy. Pope Felix replied, that he would consult with the duke of Savoy his son who was on his road to Lausanne, and his principal counsellors, how he should act, and requested the ambassadors to wait the return of those he intended to send to the king of France in the city of Geneva, which, for the furtherance of peace, they assented to. They also, in compliance with the wishes of pope Felix, desired the lord de Tollette, ambassador from pope Nicholas, to come to Lausanne from Lyons, where he was waiting the effect of their conferences with pope Felix, with the bulls, to publish them, in case he should agree to the articles as settled at Rome.

Pope Felix, and his son the duke of Savoy, lost no time in dispatching ambassadors to king Charles, to solicit his interference with pope Nicholas, that he would consent to more of the original articles than he had done. The king on this, assembled his council, and, after mature deliberation, it was resolved to send other ambassadors with those from

Savoy, to assist the archbishop of Rheims in the procuring a peace. He had with him the patriarch of Antioch, the bishop of Poitiers and the bishop of Alet, who, with sir John le Boursier, were to proceed to Rome to obtain certain letters, the form of which they were to draw up, for the more speedy accomplishment of union in the church.

After many persuasions, the above mentioned letters were obtained from pope Nicholas, and the ambassadors returned with them to Lausanne, when pope Felix V. relinquished all right or claim he might have to the papacy. He was after this, made perpetual legate of all Savoy. Those who had assembled at Lausanne, pretending to be the general council transferred from Basil, declared their submission to pope Nicholas as the true father of the church, and dissolved their assembly as a council.

This being done, the ambassadors returned to their respective princes. The patriarch of Antioch, the bishop of Alet, and sir John le Boursier, took the road to Rome, with the ambassadors from the

pope, for the confirmation of all the acts done at Lausanne, and then returned to the king of France with the bulls of confirmation. Thus was this whole assembly broken up, and each went whithersoever he pleased,—and thus was healed that deep wound in the church, by the re-establishment of peace and union, through the indefatigable exertions of the king of France, who had taken great personal pains to bring it about, and had expended very large sums in sending embassies to the different kings in Christendom to unite them in so praiseworthy an object; for the kings of France would never support any schisms,—taking for their guide the holy scriptures, which have always led them in the right way.

At this time, the king of France ordered every parish throughout his realm to have one archer ready armed to march whithersover he might be commanded, to make war, should there be occasion; and that they might the more readily obey this order, they would be relieved from paying any future subsidies. The

bailiffs were commanded to select the most expert and able in all the parishes throughout their bailiwicks.

CHAP. LXIII.

SIR FRANCIS DE SURIENNE, CALLED THE ARRAGONIAN, TAKES THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF FOUGERES *, BELONGING TO THE DUKE OF BRITTANY, NOTWITHSTANDING THE TRUCE BETWEEN THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND OF ENGLAND.—THE GREAT MISCHIEFS HE DOES THERE.

On the eve of the feast of our Lady in March in this year, sir Francis de Surienne, called the Arragonian, knight of the order of the Garter, and a great captain for the king of England in those parts of France under his dominion, took the town and castle of Fougeres, belonging to the duke of Brittany, situated on the borders of Normandy, notwithstanding the truces were not ex-

* Fougeres,—a town in Brittany, on the frontiers of Normandy, diocese of Rennes.

pired between the kings of England and France, and their allies. This town was of great antiquity, and full of people and wealth. Sir Francis had with him seven hundred men, as well English as from other countries, who committed every mischief by pillaging the houses, killing the inhabitants and ravishing the women. Not satisfied with this, he overran the adjacent parts of Brittany, making prisoners, and doing every exploit usual in war.

The duke of Brittany was very indignant when he heard of this conduct, and sent the bishop of Rennes to the king of France at Chinon, to complain that the English had, notwithstanding the truce, taken his town and castle of Fougeres, and had despoiled many other parts of his duchy, and requesting of him, as his relative, lord paramount and protector, that he would aid him by declaring war against England for that he was prepared to do so without any way sparing his own personal exertions.

The king replied, that he would never abandon him, but make common cause

with him, as was just. In order, however, to have Heaven on their side, and to throw the blame wholly on their enemies, he would first demand reparation from the king of England, and also from the duke of Somerset his lieutenant-general on that side of the sea, for the wrongs that had been done him,—the duke having had full powers to make any reparation for evils that might ensue from the infringement of the truce. The king added, that he hoped the duke would make reparation, to avoid the inconveniences that must ensue from a renewal of war.

King Charles sent to England, to make this demand, his esquire-carver, Jean Havart, and master John Cousinot, one of the masters of requests of his household,—and to the duke of Somerset, Pierre de Fontenay, equerry of his stables. They brought answers from king Henry and the duke, that they disavowed what sir Francis de Surienne had done, although it had been currently reported that this capture had been made by their order and connivance.

The duke of Brittany, who was much interested in this capture of Fougeres, sent his herald at arms to demand a surrender of the place from the duke of Somerset,—that it should be completely repaired, and restitution be made for all the plunder of houses, jewels, and effects, amounting, in the whole, according to a valuation, to the sum of sixteen hundred thousand crowns. The duke of Somerset made answer, that he would no way avow any concern in the said capture.

When the duke of Brittany's herald was departed, the duke of Somerset, desirous of repairing the fault that had been done in those parts by sir Francis de Surienne, sent ambassadors to the king of France more amply to excuse himself from having been any party in the business, declaring his disavowal of it, and how very unpleasant it had been to him; which was frivolous, for he made no mention of any offer to repair the place, nor of making restitution for the wrong, but requested, for the general safety, that every thing might remain on its present footing.

The king replied, that if the duke of

Somerset was so very much displeased at what had happened he should do his duty, according to the full powers vested in him, and make due restitution for the plunder so unjustly carried away, and restore the place in sufficiently good repair: and that if he would not do this, he might be assured that he would support his nephew of Brittany: that in regard to giving up to the English certain places as pledges for the maintenance of peace, he would do no such thing; adding, that his nephew of Brittany was allied to the greatest lords of his realm, and had many able commanders in his duchy, all of whom were very indignant at this capture of Fougeres, and who, it must be believed, would be eager to revenge it, by making conquests from the English: they would, therefore, attend to the guard of their own towns and castles: that for his part, he would take especial care to guard his own.

The ambassadors, having had this answer, requested the king to send to Louviers commissioners fully instructed; for that on their return to Rouen, they

knew well the duke of Somerset would send persons properly authorised to meet them, and endeavour to bring about an accommodation. The king, ever wishing to avoid the effusion of human blood, and more desirous of employing gentle measures than force, complied with their request, and appointed commissioners accordingly.

The English now returned to the duke of Somerset, and told him all that had passed at the court of France, and that the king had sent to Louviers commissioners to settle the dispute respecting the capture of Fougeres. The duke immediately ordered thither commissioners to make up the dispute, if possible, with those of France.

This year, the English repaired the town of St James de Beuvron, which was what they ought not to have done; for by the articles of the truce, no places were to be repaired during its continuance, either by the French or English. In this year also, the English surrendered the towns and castles of Mayenne, and of Juliez in the county of Mayne, which they had promised to yield up when they marched away from Mans.

CHAP. LXXIV.

THE POPULACE OF LONDON RISE AGAINST THE KING'S OFFICERS.—THEY INHUMANLY MURDER THE BISHOP OF GLOCESTER, AND IMPRISON THE MARQUIS OF SUFFOLK,—BUT THE KING SETS HIM AT LIBERTY.

About the end of Lent, in this year, there was a great commotion of the populace in the city of London, headed by the mayor of that city. Instigated by their evil inclinations, they inhumanly murdered the bishop of Glocester, keeper of the king's privy seal,—a good plain man, and very learned. They also arrested the marquis of Suffolk, who was a great lord, and imprisoned him in the tower of London. This mayor had great influence in the city; and, wherever he went, a sword was borne before him.

The king was, at the moment, three miles distant from London, at one of his palaces on the Thames, and greatly astonished when told what was going forward in London. He instantly sent

for the lieutenant of the tower, who lost no time in obeying this order; and, after having heard a true account of what had been done by the mob, he commanded him to bring the marquis of Suffolk in safety to him, without delay, or that his own life should answer for it.

The lieutenant found means of delivering the marquis of Suffolk without the knowledge of the mayor or people, and of carrying him to the king's presence. After a short conversation, the king made the marquis mount his horse and fly toward the northern part of his kingdom, where he might find convenient means for passing over to France. He was, however, met by some of the duke of Somerset's men, who cut off his head, and sent it, with the body, to London.

In the mean time, the king summoned the mayor and townsmen of London before him. They were much discontented that he had set the marquis at liberty, and insisted that those of his council who had advised his deliverance should be given up to them, which was done for

fear of enraging the populace still more, who instantly had them beheaded. Thus for some time were the citizens appeased*.

* I copy from Fabian what he says of this business.

'A. D. 1449.—Thomas Chalton, mayor.—And continuing the said parliament, the duke of Suffolk was arrested and sent as a prisoner (to content some minds) unto the tower, where he was kept at his pleasure a month, and after delivered at large,—the which discontented many men's minds; for to him was laid the charge of the delivery of Anjou and Maine, and the death of the noble prince Humphrey duke of Glocester,' &c., &c.—For further particulars, see the Chronicles of Fabian, Hollingshed, &c.

I suspect that Monstrelet has made a mistake of the bishop of Glocester being killed, for the murder of duke Humphrey of Glocester, which took place before. Suffolk was put to death by some pirates, and not by the duke of Somerset's men.

[A. D. 1449.]

CHAP. LXXV.

THREE MALEFACTORS, TWO MEN AND ONE WOMAN, ARE CONDEMNED TO DEATH BY THE COURT OF PARLIAMENT AT PARIS.

On the 18th day of April in this year, three malefactors, two men and one woman, were condemned to be hanged. Two high gallows of wood were consequently erected, that the punishment for such evil deeds, as they had committed, might be exhibited to the public. They had confessed themselves guilty of thrusting out the eyes of a child of two years old, whom they had in wardship, of putting it to death by running thorns into its body, which was most cruel, and of being great thieves.

One gallows was erected without the gate of St James, on which one of the two men was hanged,—and another without the gate of St Denis, between the chapel and windmill, on which was

hanged the other man, who had been a player on the hurdy-gurdy, as also the woman; and although they were both married, they had lived together in double adultery.

They were delivered to the executioner from the prison of the Conciergerie, but were attended by almost all the ushers of the parliament, because they had been sentenced by that court. Great multitudes assembled to see the execution, more especially women and girls, from the novelty of the fact; for this was the first instance of a woman being hanged in France. The woman was hanged, with her hair all dishevelled, in a long robe, having her two legs tied together below the knees. Some said, that she requested that it should be thus done, as it was the custom of her country,—while others said, that she was thus sentenced as a memorial for the longer remembrance of women, and that her crimes were so enormous she was deserving of a severer punishment.

Many prisoners were afterward hanged from the dungeons of the Châtelet, who had been therein detained some time

until others of their gang could be apprehended. They had gone to different parts of the kingdom where pardons were obtained,—such as the dedication of Saint Denis, that of St Maur, of St Fiacre, of St Mathurin, and elsewhere,—and had attacked travellers in forests and on the high roads, under pretence of asking alms; but the greater part of them had been arrested, confronted with their companions, and executed by the king's officers of justice.

CHAP. LXXVI.

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE CAPTURE OF FOUGERES, THE ALLIES OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY GAIN THE TOWN AND CASTLE OF PONT DE L'ARCHE FROM THE ENGLISH.—GERBEROY IS AFTERWARDS TAKEN.

On the 16th day of May, in this year, while the commissioners from the king of France and the duke of Somerset were assembled, according to appointment, in

the town of Louviers, some of the friends and allies of the duke of Brittany found means to gain the town and castle of Pont de l'Arche, on the river Seine, four leagues distant from Rouen.

This capture was owing to a travelling merchant from Louviers observing, in his frequent crossing of Pont de l'Arche, that it was but slightly guarded, and giving information thereof to the before mentioned friends of the duke of Brittany. He offered to take the place, if they would give him a sufficiency of men at arms,—and having explained his plans, which seemed feasible, they fixed on a day to meet him at a tavern in the suburbs of that town.

On the day appointed, several of those who had been ordered on this expedition, came to the said tavern, one after another, to avoid suspicion; two of whom were dressed as carpenters, each with his hatchet swung round his neck. Shortly after, the carrier arrived, with his cart laden with provisions. About midnight, they seized the tavern-keeper and his servants, and shut them up in

a room, to prevent them from making any discovery, and then told their intentions, with which the master of the house seemed very well pleased, for he said he had been lately beaten by some of the garrison.

During the night, the lord de Brésé came thither with some men on foot, whom he placed in ambush near to the gate of St Ouen: he was followed by the bailiff of Evreux with four or five hundred horse, whom he posted in the wood on the side of Louviers.

When these measures had been taken, Jacques de Clermont and the carrier approached the drawbridge with his cart, and entreated the porter to let him pass, as he was in haste to get to Rouen, and return that night to Louviers, offering him at the same time, a present for so doing. The two pretended carpenters were with him, and the carrier pledged himself for them. The porter, through avarice, called to him another Englishman, and let down the bridge. When the carrier had his cart on the first bridge, he took out of

his purse two bretons and a placque *, to pay the Englishmen: but he let fall one breton to the ground, which the porter stooping to pick up, the carrier drew a dagger and stabbed him dead. In like manner, the two carpenters slew his companion on the second bridge.

On a signal that this was done, the ambuscade of horse and foot sallied forth, and, passing the bridges, entered the town, shouting, 'St Yves for Brittany!' All the English were asleep when this happened, and were made prisoners, to the amount of a hundred or six score; among whom was the lord Falconbridge, an english knight, who had only arrived the preceding day, and his ransom was worth twenty thousand crowns. He was carried to Louviers for greater safety,—and the conquerors remained in the place for its guard, until other arrangements should be made.

When the English heard of this capture, they were much troubled and

* Two bretons and a placque,—small coins of Brittany and France.

enraged. On its being told to king Charles, as he was desirous of the welfare of his nephew the duke of Brittany, he consented, after many conferences at Louviers, that mutual restitutions should take place, namely, that Fougeres should be given back to the duke of Brittany, with sixteen hundred thousand crowns, according to the estimate of damages done, and Pont de l'Arche yielded up to the English, together with the lord Falconbridge, who had been there made prisoner.

The English, however, peremptorily refused to agree to such terms, which was a most unreasonable conduct: and the king's commissioners employed apostolical and imperial notaries to draw up the offer they had made, and the english commissioners' refusal of it, that God and all the world might see how handsomely the king had acted, and that if a war should ensue, which God forbid! the blame could not fall on him. The english commissioners departed, on their return to the duke of Somerset, to relate what had been the result of these conferences.

The king of France, to proceed with greater security, sent the count de Dunois, and others, with ample powers to his nephew of Brittany, whom he met at Rennes, where he had assembled the greater part of his connexions, prelates, barons and knights of the duchy. A treaty was concluded, by which the duke promised to serve the king in person against the English, by sea and land, and never to make peace, or any alliance with them, but with the approbation of the king; in confirmation of which, he gave letters patent, signed with the hands and seals of himself and the barons of the duchy.

The said relatives and barons also promised, by putting their hands within the hands of the count de Dunois, punctually to maintain all the articles contained in the above-mentioned letters patent; and the count de Dunois engaged that the king should ratify the said treaty, which he afterwards did by letters to the duke. In these he promised to make the quarrel his own, and not to conclude any treaty with the enemy

without comprehending him and his duchy, nor until the English should have restored what they had taken from him. In case the English should not, before the end of the ensuing month of July, surrender to the duke the town and castle of Fougeres, with an adequate sum for the plunder, the king would openly declare war against them,

At this time, the town of Gerberoy*, in the Beauvoisis, was taken by scalado, by the lord de Mouy, governor of that country; and all the English within it, to the number of thirty, were put to the sword. Their captain was John Harper, who that day had gone to Gournay†. Thus was the place reduced under the obedience of the king of France.

A short time after this, the town of Conches‡ was won by Robert de

* Gerberoy,—a town in the isle of France, four leagues from Beauvais.

† Gournay,—a town in the isle of France, on the Marne, three leagues from Paris.

‡ Conches,—a market-town in Normandy four leagues from Evreux, sixteen from Rouen.

Flocques, called Flocquet, bailiff of Evreux. About the same period, a gascon gentleman called Verdun, by the advice and consent of the duke of Brittany, took by storm the towns of Coignac* and St Maigrin†, under the command of an esquire, called Mondoch de Lansac, for the king of England. He himself was made prisoner, as he was coming from Bordeaux to Coignac,—for he imagined that it was still under his command as before. In both towns many prisoners were taken.

When the English heard of these towns being lost, the archbishop of Bordeaux and the magistrates sent a pursuivant at arms to the king of France at Chinon, to request that Coignac and St Maigrin might be restored, and that he would send them passports, pretending that they would come to him; but nothing was done, for reasons known to the king and his council. In like man-

* Coignac,—a town of the Angoumois, on the Charente, seven leagues and a half from Saintes.

† St Maigrin,—a town in Saintonge, near Grolle.

ner, the duke of Somerset and lord Talbot sent to the king at Chinon, to require that the towns of Pont de l'Arche, Conches, Coignac and St Maigrin should be restored; to which the king answered, that if they would restore to his nephew of Brittany his town of Fougeres, and the effects taken away from thence, he would exert his endeavours that the duke of Brittany should give back the places that had been won by him, or by those who had taken them on his advice.

The english ambassadors said that they had no powers to interfere in the surrender of Fougeres, and therefore returned to the duke of Somerset at Rouen without effecting any thing.

Soon afterwards, another conference was holden at the abbey of Bonport*, when the commissioners from France made offer to those on the part of England, that if they would, on a day to be appointed, surrender, for the duke of

* Bonport,—an abbey founded by Richard I. king of England, in the diocese of Evreux, in Normandy.

Brittany, the town and castle of Fougeres into the hands of the king of France, and pay the sum of sixteen hundred thousand crowns; the estimated value of the damages, all places that had been taken from the English should be restored, and even the lord Falconbridge, who had been made prisoner at Pont de l'Arche, and that all hostilities should cease on both sides. This the English refused; and the french commissioners returned to their king as before.

King Charles, having heard the report of all that had passed, and examined the instruments drawn up by the apostolical notaries, stating the damages the English had done to his relative the duke of Brittany: that they had very frequently infringed the truce, without making any reparations of restitution of places or effects, and their peremptory refusal of all the offers he had made them for the preservation of peace and the satisfaction of his conscience; resolved, after mature deliberation, that having done his duty most loyally, and the English obstinately refusing all his offers for peace,

he was fully justified in taking every proper step for the defence of his country and of his allies, as well as for the recovery of such places as had been conquered from him or from his predecessors, the possession of which the English had so long usurped. He was advised to declare war against them, which would be just in the eyes of God, of reason, and of his conscience, otherwise he would not do his duty. It was concluded, that he should send ambassadorss to the duke of Brittany, to concert measures accordingly.

END OF VOL. VIII.

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NOTES AND EMENDATIONS.

PAGE 11. line 12. *Lord de Fontaines.*] The family of this nobleman (who has been often mentioned before) was of high estimation among those of Flanders, and is derived from the ancient counts of Alsace and Kyburg, the progenitors of some of the earls of Flanders, and (on the mother's side) of the illustrious house of Hapsburgh. Simon (the brother of Thierry of Alsace count of Flanders,) married the heiress of the Flemish family of Henninius—(I adopt the Latin termination of Pontus Heuterus, not knowing the true name)—and Baldwin, his son, was the first who styled himself by the surname of his mother. Baldwin III, his grandson, was the first lord of Fontaines. John II, lord of Fontaines, (who was killed at Agincourt) was a descendant in the fifth generation; and Baldwin IX, his son was the lord here named. Baldwin X, the next successor, married a daughter of the vidâme of Amiens, so repeatedly noticed in this history. [P. Heuter. Gen. Tables.]

Page 25. line 4. from the bottom. *Sir Jacques d'Anjou.*] Qu. Charles d'Anjou? The third son of Louis II, king of Naples, of this name, was count of Maine, and in 1443 married Isabel de Luxembourg, daughter of Peter II, count of St. Pol.

Page 25. line 3 from the bottom. *Count de Perdiac.*] Bernard second son of the constable d'Armagnac, was count of Perdiac, and known by that name till his marriage with Eleanor de Bourbon, daughter and heiress of James II, count of la Marche (the husband of Joan of Naples) after which he assumed the more noble title of his wife. His son James was the unfortunate duke of Nemours beheaded by order of Louis XI.

Page 25. line 3 from the bottom. *Count de Vendôme.*] Louis de Bourbon, brother of James count of la Marche above mentioned, count of Vendôme in right of his mother (the heiress of that ancient house) who died in 1446.

Page 27. line 3 from the bottom. *Bastard de Beaumanoir.*] The bastard son of John de Beaumanoir, lord of Lavardin.

Page 28. line 9. *Sir James de Chabannes.*] James lord de la Palice often before mentioned.

Page 30. line 6. *James de Harcourt.*] William son of James lord de Montgomery (often mentioned in the early part of this history) and

Margaret de Melun, countess of Tancarville. He married 1st Petronille d'Amboise, and 2ndly, Yoland de Laval, and dying in the year 1487, left only two daughters.

Page 30. line 7. *Lord de Moreul.*] Should be Mareuil, Robert II, son of Robert I, killed at Agincourt. He married Michéle d'Estouteville, and diedin 1476.

Page 92. line 17. *Marquis du Pont.*] Louis marquis of Pont-a-Mousson, second son of Renè king of Sicily and Naples. He died at an early age.

Page 93. line 3. *Count de Blamont.*] Isabel, daughter of Frederic, and sister of Anthony, counts de Vaudemont married Henry count de Blamont, whose son must have been the count de Blamont here meant.

Page 97. line. 6. *Duke of Burgundy.*] Charles prince of Viana, only son of John king of Arragon, by his marriage with Blanche the daughter and heiress of Charles III, king of Navarre, was born at Pennafiel in the year 1421, and died in 1461 before his father. In his time the fatal feuds of the houses of Grammont and Beaumont which distracted the Kingdom of Navarre for nearly half a century, had their commencement.

Agnes sixth daughter of Adolphus duke of Cleves.

There was no issue of this marriage; and

the prince left none but illegitimate children, in consequence of which the crown of Navarre passed into the house of Foix.

Page 116. line 6. *Lord d'Albreth.*] Charles II, eldest son and successor of the constable, count of Dreux, &c. married Anne of Armagnac, and died in 1471.

Page 117. line 8 from the bottom. *Roderigo de Villandras.*] Don Roderigo de Villandrado, first count of Ribadeo, was a Castilian by birth, of the town of Valladolid. He married Margaret a natural daughter of John duke of Bourbon. Returning to Spain in this year, he performed some essential services for the king of Castille, who, in recompense, accorded to him and his descendants, the valuable privilege of eating at the king's table on new year's day, and of having the robe worn by the king on that day. La Mayerne, hist. d'Espagne. Liv. 19.

Page 152. line 17. *Jacotin de Bethune.*] James third son of John I. de Bethune lord of Moreuil, was nicknamed Jacotin. From him, according to Du Cange, the lords of Belfour in Scotland were descended, their family name being corrupted to Beatoun.

Page 175. line 6 from the bottom. *Lord de Beaujeu.*] Philip, 2nd son of Charles II. duke of Bourbon, was called lord of Beaujeu, and died young. The title then passed to the fourth son, Peter, who married Anne daughter of

Louis XI, the celebrated dame de Beaujeu, regent of France.

Page 177. line 5. *Bastard of Bourbon.*] Alexander son of the duke. See the account of his death in p. 2.

Page 188. line 4. from the bottom. *La Praguerie.*] "The horrors perpetrated by the Hussites at Prague gave occasion to the dread of similar consequences from the civil war kindled in France, and gave this faction the name of *La Praguerie.*" Du Clos, hist. de Louis onze.

Page 190. line 4. *De Chaumont.*] William V, lord and count of Chaumont, who died in 1445, leaving by his wife Jane de Mello, lady of Rigni le Feron, only one surviving son, Anthony lord of Chaumont.

Page 190. line 4. *De Prie.*] Antoine de Prie, lord of Buzençais, &c. was grand Queux, in 1431, and married Magdalen, daughter of Hugh d'Amboise lord of Chaumont.

Page 202. line 2 from the bottom. *Sir Giles de St Simon.*] Giles de Rouvray, lord of Plessier Choiseul, Precy sur Oise, &c., second son of Matthew II. lord of St Simon, killed at Agincourt, and brother of Gaucher, lord of St Simon. He was greatly distinguished in most of the military exploits in Picardy, Flanders, &c. and died in 1477.

Page 211. line 3. from the bottom. *Lord of*

Retz.] Giles de Laval, lord of Retz, descended in the fourth degree from Fulk Laval second son of Guy VIII. lord of Laval, who married the heiress of the ancient house of Retz. Giles was a marshal of France in 1429, and a man of distinguished valour, but of a heart and mind depraved to an incredible degree. Some historians however alledge that reasons of state precipitated, if they did not occasion his downfal, and that duke Francis was too well pleased with the opportunity of getting rid of a dangerous enemy, to examine very carefully into the truth of the articles preferred against him. He suffered at Nantes on the 23d of December 1440, the duke himself attending at his execution. By his wife Catherine de Thouars, he left but one daughter Mary, who married, first, the admiral de Coetivy, 2ndly the marshal de Lohèac.

Page 220. line 2 from the bottom. *The lords de Launoy and de Maingoual, nephews to the lord de Croy*] John I, lord of Lannoy (a noble and ancient house of Flanders) married Jane daughter of John, and sister of Anthony lords de Croy; by whom he had the two sons here mentioned, viz. John II, lord of Lannoy knight of the golden fleece, who died in 1492; 2ndly, Anthony, lord of Maingoval, who was ancestor to the famous Charles de Lannoy,

prince of Sulmone and count of Asti, one of Charles the fifth's greatest generals.

Page 221. line 5. from the bottom. *Du Cange.*] Q. Renty?

Page 223. line 12. from the bottom. *Duke.*] Charles duke of Orleans had been twice married before, 1st to Isabel his first cousin, daughter of Charles VI, and widow of Richard II, king of England, by whom he had a daughter married to John duke of Alençon; 2ndly, to Bona the daughter of Bernard constable d'Armagnac by whom he had no issue. His third wife was Mary, sixth daughter of Adolph duke of Cleves, who died in 1487, and brought him three children, Lewis, afterwards king of France; Mary, married to the viscount of Narbonne; and Anne, abbess of Fontevrault.

Page 253. last line. *Montgaugier.*] John II, de Sainte Maure, lord of Montgaugier and Nesle, married Louise de Rochechouart, daughter to John lord Mortemart, and died 1463.

Page 255. line 11. *Bastard of Bourbon.*] Alexander, a natural son of John I, duke of Bourbon, and brother of Charles I, the then duke.

Page 258. line 5. *Lord de Dours.*] *Dours* Qu. *Douars*. Peter lord of Douars, youngest son to Guy V, lord of la Trimouille, and uncle to George count of Guisnes, left issue a son, John

lord of Douars, in whose son, John, this branch of the house Trimouille terminated.

Page 258. line 5. *Lord de Contay.*] Qu. Conti? Ferry de Mailly (often before-mentioned) was lord of Conti by descent from Isabel, heiress of that house, who married Colard de Mailly surnamed "Le Jeune."

Page 263. line 10. from the bottom. *Joachim Rohault.*] Joachim de Rouault lord of Boisemenard, Gamaches, &c. marshal of France in 1461. The son of John lord of Gamaches, &c. who was killed at the battle of Verneuil in 1424, and of Jane du Bellay. He was distinguished in all the great actions of his time, was made constable of Bordeaux, and died in 1478. He was usually styled the marshal de Gamaches.

Page 270. line 8 from the bottom. *Jeanne de Bethune.*] Daughter and heir of Robert I. (viscount of Meaux in right of his mother Jane, heiress of the great house of Coucy)—she married first Robert de Bar count of Soissons mentioned in a former volume, and 2ndly John de Luxembourg count de Ligny, of whom such frequent mention has been made.

Page 278. line 12. *Marshal of France.*] Peter de Rieux, lord of Rochefort, third son of John II, marshal de Rieux, succeeded to his father's military dignities in 1417. The ensuing year he was deprived by the duke of Burgundy, and thereupon threw himself into the arms of the dauphin, whom he

served with fidelity and great success for many years after. He was made prisoner (with some circumstances of treachery) by William de Flavy lord of Assy, at his town of Compiègne, and died of want and misery in a dungeon when only 48 years old, leaving no issue. This William de Flavy had been also principally instrumental to the capture of the Pucelle d'Orleans; and not long after the death of the marshal de Rieux, suffered in common (says Matthieu de Coucy) with all those who had any concern in Joan's captivity or death, a violent and untimely end. His throat was cut in the night time at his castle of Nesle, by the bastard d'Orbendas, at the instigation (as it is added) of his own wife; A. D. 1448. The punishment of his cruelty to the marshal de Rieux, in 1509, compelled the daughter of William de Flavy, with her husband, to pay 10,000 livres parisis for the masses for the soul of his unfortunate ancestor.

Page 284. line 6. *Lord de la Suze.*] Renè de Laval, lord de la Suze, younger brother to the infamous marshal de Retz, whose execution is mentioned in p. 211.

Page 284. line 9. *Oiivier de Cointiny.*] Should be Coetivy. This Oliver, 4th son of Alan III. lord of Coetivy, and brother of the Admiral, was lord of Taillebourg and seneschal of Guienne &c. He married Mary, one of the natural

daughters of Charles VII, in 1458, with a portion of 12,000 crowns of gold. His descendants were counts of Taillebourg and princes of Mortagne and Gironde.

Page 284. line 13. *Lord de Graville.*] John Malet V. lord de Graville, grand pannetier of France.

Page 297. line 9. *Two brothers of Lord Stafford.*] They were half-brothers by the same mother.

Eleanor, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock duke of Glocester, married two husbands—first Edmund earl of Stafford, (by whom she had Humphry, afterwards duke of Buckingham,) and, secondly, William lord Bouchier, created for his services earl of Eu in Normandy, whose two sons, here mentioned were Henry earl of Eu, married to Isabel sister of Richard duke of York; and William lord Fitzwarin. There were two younger sons, besides these, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and John lord Berners, ancestor to the translator of Froissart.

Page 334. line 3 from the bottom. *Count de Foix.*] Archambaud de Greilly, Captal de Buche, who became count de Foix (as before mentioned) in right of his wife Isabel, sister and heir to Matthew de Chateaubon, died in 1412, leaving five sons, of whom John, the eldest was count de Foix, and died in 1437, leaving Gaston IV, his successor, and Peter, lord of Lau-

trec and Villemur, his two sons. Gaston IV. (the count of Foix here mentioned) had for his mother a daughter of the count d'Albret, and marrying Eleanor, daughter of John king of Arragon by his first wife the queen of Navarre, transmitted to his grandson Francis Phœbus, the title to that kingdom. Of the four remaining sons of count Archambaud, Peter was a cardinal; Archambaud was lord of Noailles, killed by the dauphin at Montereau, in company with John duke of Burgundy; Gaston was Captal de Buche, count of Longueville and Benanges; and Matthew was count of Comminges in right of his wife, Margaret the heiress of that county. This Matthew died in 1453, leaving by his second wife, Catherine de Coras, two daughters only. The title of Comminges was then given by Louis XI, (who claimed it as a male fief) to the bastard of Armagnac commonly called De Lescun.

Page 335. line 1. *Lords de Lohéac.*] Andrew de Laval, lord de Lohèac, second son of Guy XIII, and brother of Guy XIV, lord of Laval. He was admiral of France after Louis de Culant, but resigned that office to be made a marechal in 1439. He married Mary de Laval, lady of Retz, widow of the admiral de Coetivy, by whom he had no issue, and died in 1486.

Page 335. line 2. *Jaloignes.*] Philip de Culant, lord of Jaloignes, seneschal of the Li-

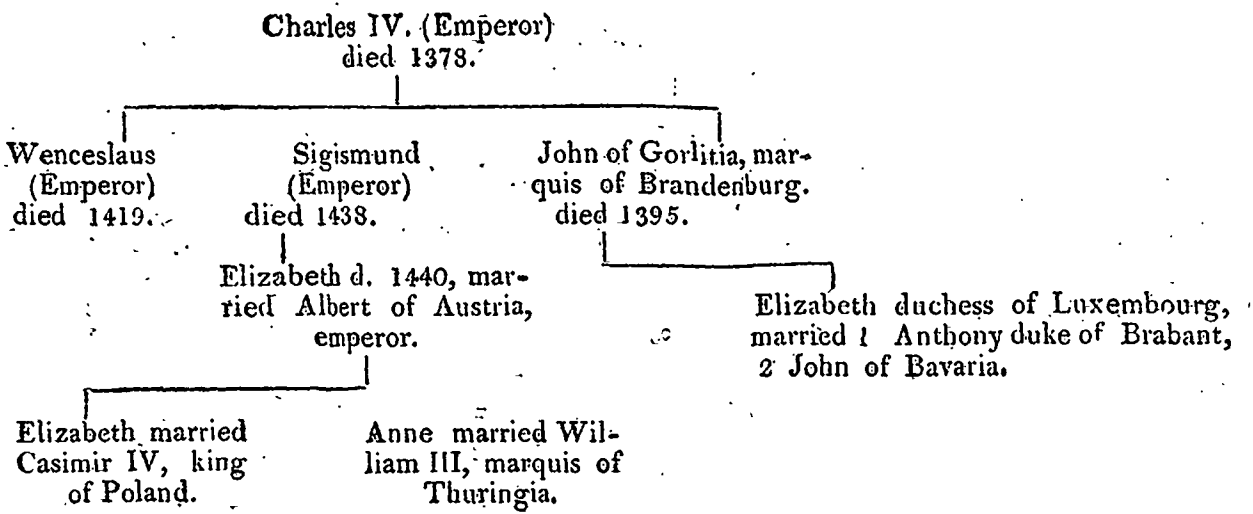
mousin, created a marshal of France the year before, on occasion of the siege of Pontoise. He died in 1454 without issue. He was nephew to Louis lord de Culant, admiral of France, and younger brother to Charles de Culant, lord of Chateauneuf, &c. grand master in 1449.

Page 335. line 5. *Lord de Mongascon.*] Godfrey, second son of Bertrand de la Tour IV. count of Auvergne and Boulogne, bore the title of Montgascon. He was betrothed to Jane de Brezè, daughter of Peter count de Maulevrier; but aftewards married Anne de Beaufort daughter of the marquis de Canillac.

Page 359. line 5. *Duchy of Luxembourg.*] The cause and progress of this war respecting the duchy of Luxembourg, may deserve some explanation. After the death of Wenceslaus duke of Brabant and Luxembourg (the patron of Froissart) the duchy reverted to the emperor Wenceslaus, as head of the elder branch of the family; and on the marriage of Elizabeth of Gorlitia, his niece, with Anthony duke of Brabant, the emperor made a mortgage of the duchy to the said Anthony to secure the payment of his wife's portion amounting to 120,000 florins. This sum was never paid; and possession of the duchy was retained by Elizabeth after the death of Anthony, and until some time after the death of her second husband, John of Bavaria, bishop of Liege, so

often before mentioned. At this period, however, both Wenceslaus and Sigismund, and also the empress Elizabeth daughter of Sigismund, being no more, and the rights of the elder branch having descended on William III. marquis of Thuringia and Casimir IV, king of Poland, in right of their wives Elizabeth and Anne, the daughters of the empress Elizabeth, those princes took advantage of the apparently unprotected state of the province to claim the privilege of redemption; to enforce which, they sent a powerful army under the command of the count of *Click* of the house of Saxony. To oppose the invaders, Robert, count of Wirnemburg collected what troops he was able from the duchy itself; and duke Philip sent considerable supplies under the command of his bastard son Cornelius, of the count of Estampes, and other nobles, by whose assistance the Saxons were at length expelled. *In gratitude for this signal service*, Elizabeth soon afterwards conveyed the duchy and all its dependancies in absolute possession to duke Philip and his heirs for ever; and the vanquished claimants were forced to purchase peace by a solemn ratification of her cession. The king of Poland, however, did not deliver his confirmation till after the death of Philip, when the transaction was completed in favour of Charles the warlike. See Bertelius and Heuterus.

The short table annexed will render this affair more intelligible.


Charles IV. (Emperor) died 1378.
Wenceslaus (Emperor) died 1419.
Sigismund (Emperor) died 1438.
John of Gorlitia, marquis of Brandenburg. died 1395.
Elizabeth d. 1440, married Albert of Austria, emperor.
Elizabeth duchess of Luxembourg, married 1 Anthony duke of Brabant, 2 John of Bavaria.
Elizabeth married Casimir IV, king of Poland.
Anne married William III, marquis of Thuringia.

Page 361. line 1. *Duke William of Saxony.*] William marquis of Thuringia, youngest son of Frederic the warlike, elector of Saxony.

Page 367. line 7. *Sir Gouvain Quieriet.*] Gauvaine Quieret, lord of Heuchin, son of James Quieret who was distinguished in the conquest of Normandy, and grandson of Guy who was made prisoner at Agincourt.

Page 380. line 15. *Anjou.*] Peter II, the father of James count of Maulevrier, who married Charlotte the daughter of Charles VII, and Agnes Sorel, and killed her as is more particularly mentioned in a note to vol. ix. p. 99. This Peter was appointed to the command of an expedition sent to England in support of queen Margaret of Anjou, and was afterwards killed at the battle of Montlehery in 1465. (See, Bayle. Art. Brezé.)

Page 380. line 16. *Lord of Precigny.*] Second son of John III. lord of Beauvau, grand maître d'hotel to Renè king of Sicily and Naples. He died in 1474.

Page 396. line 3. *Count Blanquemain.*] Blanquemain—Qu. Blankenheim; William de Loz, count of Blankenheim married Mary a daughter of Anthony de Croy count of Poreien who afterwards had for her second husband George count of Wirnemburg.

Page 407, line 4 from the bottom. *Regent.*] Pregent. See before.

Page 408. line 4. *Prison.*] See more of this extraordinary transaction, (vol. 9. p. 136.)

Page 414. line 14 *Helye de Pompadour.* One of the sons of John I. lord of Pompadour and of Margaret de Ventadour, his wife; and mother of Golfier lord of Pompadour who died in 1441, leaving John II his son and successor, a councellor and chamberlain of the king Louis XI. This Helie de Pompadour, entering into the church, became bishop of Alet in 1448, and of Pamiers in 1454.

Page 418. line 10. *Life.*] Philip Maria, last duke of Milan of the house of Visconti died in 1448, leaving no issue by either of his wives Beatrix de Tende, (the widow of the famous Facino Cane) and Mary, daughter of the duke of Savoy. His natural daughter Bianca Maria was married to Francis Sforza, who, in her pretended right, succeeded to the duchy and transmitted it to his descendants.

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